

A
COMMON-VVEALTH
OF GOOD COVN-
S A I L E.

O R,

Policies chiefe Counseller, portrai-
ted into two Bookes.

SHEWING VVHAT MAY
be in a Magistrate in gouerning:

A Subiect in obeying: and the absolute Feli-
citie of all Common-weales.

VVherein all sorts of well affected

*Readers, may furnish themselves with all kind of Philosophicall or
Morall reading, as being replenished with the
chiefe Learning of the most excellent Philoso-
phers, and principall Law-giners.*

AND BY THE AVTHOR INTENDED FOR
all those that be admitted to the administration of
well gouerned Common-weales.

Written in Latin by *Laurentius Grimaldus*, and consecrated to
the honour of the Polonian Empire.

Newly translated into English.



At London Printed by R.B.

For N. Lyng. 1607.

COMMONWEALTH
OF GREAT BRITAIN

Police and Constabulary

SHIRING VVIA

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A Subject in

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At London

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TO THE MOST EXCEL-
lent and most mightie Prince,
Augustus, King of Polonia, &c.



Seuerie man well knoweth those commonweales be most blessed where men do liue in peace: so are those countries miserable where people are not maintained in securitie. And as euerie commonweale is happie wherein subiects are good, so in good commonweales no subiect can be vnfortunate: yet what doth work the welfare of cōmonweales and people, is and hath beene (euen amongst the most learned,) long disputed. Some suppose it proceedeth of good lawes: others haue thought that ciuill education doth enforme it: others imagined that the temperature of the heauens doth make men apt for ciuill life: some also do thinke it proceedeth from the endeuour of good Kings: because subiects by imitation of their Princes vertue, do (for the most part) become like vnto them. Which opinion I verily thinke to be most true, so perswaded by obseruation of your Maiesties example. Neither do I iudge the great quietnes and blessednes of this commonweale and kingdome, doth proceed from other cause, then the excellent splendour of your princely vertues, which are such and so great, as doe not onely incite all subiects to behold them, but also with exceeding admiration and imitation to loue them. Sith euerie man endeuouring (aboue all things,) to honour your Princely example, your iustice, and your clemencie, is no lesse enforced to obey, then to loue, and the greatnes of your authoritie is such, as your Maiestie is not onely a moderator and disposer of lawes, but also (which in a free state is most) a iust iudge of each mans vertue, praise, and dignitie: and therewith also haue framed a kingdome so perfect, as on earth none more perfect can be. Moreouer, this kingdome is come to your Maiesties handes, not by inheritance, not by blood, nor by vsurpation (as are many others) but by publique consent

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

of all the *Polonian* Nation, thereunto perswaded by the auncient vertue and wisdom of your Maiestie, and your most noble auncestors. For (to confesse truth) the house of *Lageloni*, hath beene a Seminarie of Kings so plentifull, as not onely our commonweale, but also diuers other nations did desire to bee thereby gouerned; and would to God that most noble raze had still in *Bohæmia*, and *Hungarie* continued. For by the valour thereof, the *Turkish* Empire should haue beene restrained of that greatnes wherevnto it is now aspired. All which things as they are admirable, so are they also the more noble, that holding in hand the Raines of so great a gouernment, your Maiestie by your owne iudgement hath called vnto you a Counsell both for nobilitie and wisdom excellent, by whose moderation and prudence, the quiet and glory of our kingdome hath beene greatly preserued. I omit to speake of other Magistrates by whom the felicitie of our commonweale is not onely ornified, but also enlarged: so as *Polonia* may be well called the habitation of libertie, and seate of iust gouernment. And that your highnes is author and doer of these things, who doth not see? I in my youth did behold them, and in mine elder age found them agreeable vnto the rules of excellent Philosophers and auncient well gouerned commonweales, which moued me to thinke it were no lost labour, if by mine owne endeouour or the obseruation of other mens workes, I shoulde somewhat say of that matter to the profit of all posteritie. This work therefore I determined to dedicate vnto your Royall Maiestie, as chiefe causer of mine endeouour. Not meaning thereby to enforme you (for such is your excellent wisdom as needeth not the instruction of any) but that by reading, your maiestie may be delighted to behold your own vertues, & as a Prince of that gouernment, be glad, that the same is most iust and respondent to other auncient and praiseable commonweales. Yet doe I well know, that to discourse of qualities appertaining to an excellent Counsellor, is not onely of great importance but also accompanied with many difficulties. But my hope is, that albeit my skill cannot therein merit praise, yet (as I hope) my earnest desire of publique vtilitie, shall hold me excused, assuring my selfe, that your Maiesties wisdom and princely Counsell (a vertue proper to all the house of *Lageloni*) will take my humble endeouour in good and acceptable part.



THE FIRST BOOKE.



HO so wholly applieth himselfe to those studies which concerne not onely priuate pleasure, but also publique commoditie, doth (as I thinke) seeke a knowledge perfect and most worthie commendation. For to be skilfull in that whereof others receiue profit, doth aboute all things best become a wise man. Among such sciences as were wont to bring with them both profit and pleasure, there is not (in my iudgement) any more profitable or pleasing; then is the skill of gouernment, beeing a guide of humane happinesse, and tuttesse of publique commoditie, and common life. Which I by the example of many others, and no small experience knowing to be true; beeing also assured that the knowledge whereby commonweales be gouerned, is certaine, and the proceeding of all things directed by reason and iudgement; not by fallible conceipt, chaunce, or fortune; haue determined to discourse what ought be the dūtie, vertue and dignitie of a perfect Councillor, to the ende that those that shall be called to gouernment, or take delight in such wisdom, may be thereof partakers. For performing of which entent, I haue thought good to fōunde the depth of ciuile knowledge, and with greate diligence haue serched the secrets of most excellent Phylosophers, not meaning to set forth any fained conceipt, but that which accordeth with authoritie of wise law makers and graue Councillors. I doe therefore thinke expedient, that in the person of our Councillor, there shoulde be such ripenesse of age as might exercise the vertues be seeming so honourable a personage, and in his calling, holde so greate a grauitie and reputation,

The first Booke.

tion, as all other Citizens and subiectes may hope at his hande to receiue comfort, quiet, & counsell profitable to the whole commowealth. My intent is not to frame an *Idea*, or Councillor imagined, such a one as cannot be seene but onely in conceipt, or that the heauens haue skantly any so perfect, or the earth doth not containe any shadowe of such a man; (as did *Plato* in his common weale and *Cicero* in his Orator) but our speach shall tende to thinges possible, not exceeding the ordinarie vse of men. Yet my meaning is to gather into this booke, whatsoever hath heeretofore beene spoken, knowen, or founde, eyther by learning of schooles, by Councils in commonweales, by pollicy, in gouernement, by forraine experience by the Histories, touching the qualitie and perfection of a Councillor. And as *Plato* hath set downe those things which he thought fittest for the felicitie of his Citie, the like will we doe in the discription of our Councillor: and imagining to haue mett with wise men of all nations, Cities and commonweales repaying to a market of wisdom, we will take from euery one, such vertues, customes, lawes and dueties, as seemeth to vs most excellent, and therewith furnish our Councillor. But for so much as through the diuersitie of commonweales, it seemeth that the quality and offices of Councillors be diuers, we haue iudged that forme of commonweale to be of all others most iust and indifferent, where the Kinges authoritie and the peoples power, by the counsellors wisdom and aduise is qualesied. We haue therefore thought fitt, first to discourse the diuersitie of commonweales, as well in kinde as forme, of their felicitie, of the happinesse of subiectes, of the education and instruction of a Councillor, to the ende he may the rather vnderstand the state where he gouerneth, and be skilfull in the precepts of vertue. So as in that sort furnished, he may direct his life in all honesty, and deseruingly be aduanced to a charge of so greate honour and reputation. And we will, that the vertues of our Councillor be such, as are not onely profitable for the gouernment of one state, but shall be of that excellencie as the same may be practised in the proceedinges of all others. For we haue learned of *Plato*, that those commonweales be moste happy, which are gouerned by Phylosophers, or where the gouernours are wholly disposed to the studie of Philosophie. Therefore from such a wise man, and such a ciuill science, wee haue determined to take matter, whereof to frame our excellent Councillor.

Among

The first Booke.

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Among all creatures containd within the circle of the earth, that which we call man, is the chiefeſt and of moſt reputation. For he alone, of all other liuing thinges of what nature ſo euer, is made not onely an inhabitant and Citizen of the world, but alſo a Lorde and Prince therein. Which authoritie, honour and greatneſſe, from God the ſupreame gouernour of heauen and earth is giuen, who hath alſo vouchſafed to receiue him, as it were a companion in the gouernment of this vniuerſall Citie common to God and men, adorning him with diuine vnderſtanding, to the end that through his godly reaſon and counsell, this worldly Empyre, might be wiſely, holily and iuſtly gouerned. The cauſe of this ſocietie betwixt GOD and men, proceedeth from reaſon, which beeing perfect, doth make men like vnto God, and ſeeme as it were mortall Gods: whereof may be conceiued, that betwixt God and men, ſome affinitie, aliance or kinred remaineth. Notwithſtanding, without the preſence of God, no reaſon is good and perfect, for the diuine ſeedes beeing ſowen in mens bodies, ſo much thereof as happeneth into the handes of good till-men, doth bring forth fruite according to him that did ſowe them, but of the reſt beeing handled by euill husbandry, doth (like vnto corne ſowen in barren ſoyle) become brembles, and within ſhort ſpace decay and die. Man therefore knowing himſelfe, and conceiuing that within him all things are diuine, ſhall be perſwaded that his minde and reaſon doth repreſent an holy Image, and muſt therefore continually indeuour to doe and imagine thinges worthie ſo heavenly a grace. Thus beeing made of God his ſocietie, and reputed of his race and progenie, it muſt needs be, that in the gouernment of this world we haue from him ~~him~~ the authoritie of rule and commaunding. Sith then he is the author and director, and that our being proceedeth from him as the creator of all thinges; euery counsell, lawe, and ordinance is at his handes to be required; to the ende that this diuine worlde may be knowen and gouerned not by men, but the will, wiſedome, and prouidence of God. For as brute beaſtes cannot without a heardman, of other beaſtes be gouerned: Euen ſo men by men, without the guiding of GOD, cannot be ruled. For if it ſo happen, that any man doth take in hande to gouerne without GOD, that is to ſay, without his diuine will, wiſedome and knowledge: It muſt needs be that euery commonweale ſo gouerned, and the life of euery private

The ſcience
of gouern-
ment pro-
ceedeth
from God.

The first Booke.

Citizen therein, shall become vnhappy and miserable. For in vaine it were to studie the welfare of any state, if God be not the defendour and keeper thereof. It may then be conceyued, that all vertue and wisdom of man proceedeth from God, which was the cause that our auncestors in times past, were wont to dedicate publique temples to vertue, faith, concord, wisdom, and peace. But are the Councels of gouernement to be asked of God? or ought all requestes and prayers, as well for small as greates graces, ascende vnto his heavenly hearing? Yea surely. So that our suite and prayers doe not discente from reason. Good lawes therefore are obtayned at Gods handes by intercession of wise men, and not by holding vpp the handes of fooles, or be their lowde cries, or prostrating their bodies vpon the earth. For God is onely present with wise men, and as *Ouidius* saith well,

*Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo
Spiritus hic sacra lumina mentis habet.*

Wherein a
wise man is
like vnto god

The best
thing in man
is reason,

The wisdom of GOD doth enter and possesse their mindes, and as they doe honour it, so dooth it honour them, whereby they are made (as it were) Gods. Without GOD no good or wise man liueth: For hee onely is prouident, politique, and full of counsell. The wise man by his vertue resembleth the likenesse of God, which proceedeth of perfect reason. It behooueth vs therefore, (not as some men teach) onely to be men, and vnderstand things humaine and mortall, but also if possible it may bee, excell all mortalitie, and liue according to that parte which is in vs moste excellent. But what is that which in man is moste excellent? surely reason, by meane whereof wee knowe God, vse vertue, imbrace good and eschewe euill. This is that which maketh men perfect, wise, valiant and iust. Thus it appeareth, that through diuine reason the worlde is gouerned by man. It shall therefore behooue him in all his proceedings of gouernment, to follow the direction thereof, and as of a diuine Oracle in all his counsels, lawes & cogitations, to pray for the grace and assistance of the almighty, wherby he shal gouern all things wisely, godly & iustly. For as the reason in God is the law most supream: So the reason of a wise man being perfect may be called God or law. In respect wherof the *Lacedemonians* called those men Gods, whom for wisdom & iustice they

The first Booke.

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they thought to excell all others. And as such a one *Homer* describeth *Hector*, saying, *Non hominis certe mortalis filius ille* *Esse videtur, sed diuo semine natus.* Who therefore obeyeth reason, and by her in all his wordes and workes is gouerned, ought be reputed as a God among men. He onely for King, Prince and Ruler of the vniuersall worlde is to be accounted. And finally he knoweth what is to be done, what to be thought, what to be determined, and what proceedeth from diuine reason and counsell. Nowe for as much as this Prince and Gouernour shall liue in the societie and company of men, which societie consisteth partly in the vniuersall conuersation of the whole world, and partly of priuate Cities: It behooueth him for preservation of the common sociery and loue among men, that he indout the whole force of his capacitie, reason, and counsell, to gaine the good will and fauour of men. We will therefore commit vnto his charge two diuers countries, or common weales, to be gouerned. The one is that which containeth both God and men, not confined within the boundes of *Africa*, *Asia*, or *Europa*, but is by the course of the Sunne, described. The other is, the place where our mortall condition hath appointed our birth and being, as *Greece*, *Italie*, *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Polonia*, or such like. Touching gouernment of common weales: It shall behoue the gouernour with reason and vnderstanding, to comprehend the order and nature as well of the vniuersall world, which the *Latines* doe call *maiores mundum*, as of the other wherein we haue our life and abode: which they likewise doe name *maiores mundum*. For whensoever the minde hath shaken of the bondage of bodie, it presently recouereth the perfect nature thereof, performing the true offices, embracing these things which bee good, and reiecting the euill, It loueth vertue, and loatheth vice; it suppresseth lust, and commaundeth it selfe. What Emperour or gouernment can be said or thought more deuine or godly? Moreouer, when the minde hath discovered the nature of heauen, earth, seas, with euery other thing, and knoweth whereof they be made, what beginnings, cause, and ende they haue, what is the disposition of Starres, what is the reason of the sunnes rising and

Publike gouernment to be considered in two sortes.

The world a
Citie commo
to all crea-
tures.

going downe, what moueth the Moone; what is the destruction of all things; what the nature of Elementes, of liuing creatures, and the vertue of herbes, when all these things (I say) be knowne, and God the supream gouernour of all, well neere comprehended, the possessor of such wisdom and knowledge of nature, shall he not deservinglie be accounted a Citizen and dweller of any towne or place, or rather a Prince of the worlde vniuersall? *Socrates* beeing asked of what countrie he was, answered, A man of the worlde; imagining himselfe to bee, not onely a Citizen and inhabitant, but also as it were a Prince vniuersall. What doth *Latrinus* reporte of *Diogenes* other, then he was such a one. This Citie yeeldeth no obedience to Tyrants, nor is subiect to lawes inuented by men; nor can be inuironed with walles, but is containd within the vniuersall circle; with motion and order naturall, as it were by lawe certaine and euerlasting, constantlye gouerned within walles made of Elementes. The Citizens of this towne, are by a name diuine called Philosophers, commaunded onely by themselves, bearing aboute their mindes inuincible, and armed against the force of all misfortune. Such Princes no force of enemies can depose, no violence of armes remoue, nor furie of fyre disturbe, for they be alwaies inuincible, valiant, happy, and free from feates and dangers.

Philosophy
of two sortes.

Philosophy
of two sortes.

When King *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus* had surprised *Megara*, in which Citie *Stilpho* the Philosopher liued, he caused him to be brought to his presence, and asked what had beene taken from him, offering restitution of all his losses. Whereunto *Stilpho* answered, that hee neuer had seene anye man that coule offer violence to Philosophie, much lesse take the same from him that was thereof possessed, imagining himselfe to be onely owner of such riches, accounting the rest of his goods to be no more his, then the enemies that belieged *Megara*. But seeing the science of Philosophie consisteth partlie in contemplation, and partlie in action, it must needes bee that the skill of gouernment, doth also consist vppon two. Those that apply themselves to contemplation, doe onely labour to attaine the knoweledge of truth, and not desiring to proccede further, stay their imaginations wholly in considering by what meanes the world might bee guided with the raines of wisdom. This sorte of men were wonte to delight in priuate and solitarie life, carelesse of authoritie

The first Booke.

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ritie, house, or famelie, as *Homer* doth describe them. From which rest or rather idlenesse, we ought first by desire to perswade them, and that not suffising, by inforcement to drawe them to action of gouernment, which is the seconde parte of ciuill duetie. For the knowledge and contemplation of nature prooueth improfitable, if no action thereof doe followe, which appeareth in the preservation of all commodities belonging to men. Who is there so studious in naturall knowledge, that beeing informed, his friends, his neighbours, his kinsfolkes, and countrey shall perish without his presente helpe, but will preferre the safetie of them, before the contemplation of all the Starres, Elementes and worlde vniuersall? We therefore doe exhort all wise men to action, and recommend vnto them the commonweale, not that cōmon weale containing all the world, & is bounded by the perambulation of the Sunn, but that which is subiect to ordinances and lawes, and composed of the congregation and societie of men: hoping that ththrough them (possessed of diuine knowledge) this worldlie gouernment may with more wisdom and iustice bee directed. The contemplation of thinges diuine doe teach and informe the minde of a wise man, and hee beeing accustomed, to the cogitations of heavenly reason, wisdom and lawe, doth become as it were another GOD. *Solon* indued with such knowledge, gouerned the *Athenians*. *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonians*, and *Parmenides* the *Eleati*.

Contemplation without action is improfitable.

Philosophers men most fit to gouerne commonweales,

The like lawes and ordinances *Lycis* the *Pythagorian* inuented for *Spaminondas*, *Plato* for *Dion*, *Aristotle* for *Alexander* the greate, *Anaxagoras* for *Pericles*, *Pythagoras* for the Princes of *Italie*, and *Agrippa* for the Emperour *Octavianus*. Which examples haue moued many writers to affirme, that those commonweales were most happye where Philosophers gouerned, or where the gouernours were accompanied and counselled by Philosophers. *Caro* that moste excellent Senator, for the loue hee bare vnto wisdom, intertained *Athenodorus*; *Ulysses* (as *Homer* sayeth) embraced *Caritas*; *Pirrhus* esteemed *Artemius*; *Traian* desired *Plutarchus*, and *Scipio* was counselled by *Panetius*. A man (as *Plutarch* writeth) learned in all sciences both good and euill. But if this diuine knowledge doe happe vnto any man, that delighteth only in rest and idlenesse, not indeuouring to do other then lurke at home, as it were within the cōpasse of a magicall circle, stretching himselfe in the sunn, accompanied only with staffe & wallet, careless of all action & desire to doe good

Philosophy in private men is impracticable

What a com-
mon weale is.
The gover-
ment of com-
mon weales
diuers.

The deuision
of common-
weales.

good to others: surely such wisdom proueth to no purpose, and with himselfe in shorthe space vtterly perisheth. Where contrariwise, if the same be possessed by any Prince or person disposing himselfe to the affaires of gouernment, hee becommeth thereby diuine, noble, wise, and prouident. But happilie some man may demaunde what common weale that is which shoulde bee committed to this wise man or Diuine Philosopher? which doubt doth nor arise from the nature of common weale, being a certaine order among the inhabitants abiding in one cytie, but of the diuersitie and difference of the common weales. For as mens manners, delights and estates bee diuers, so also is the gouernment of common weales manifold. And though the end of euery of them is but one thinge, that is to say, good, or welbeeing, which consisteth in the felicitie of men, and euery state doth labour to attaine, yet are the meanes of aspiring to that happines diuers, and so consequently lawes and customes of sondry sortes are by them vfed. For who so shall conferre the lawes of *Hippodamus* framed for the *Miletians*, with those of *Minos* made for the *Candians*, or will compare the ordinances of *Licurgus* with the decrees of *Solon*, the one writing the gouernment of the *Laedemonians*, the other of the *Athenians*, shall easily conceiue their lawes to be most diuers, their Magistrates vnlike, and the forme of their states farre discrepant. The seauen wise men also (*Thales* except who refused to intermedle in the common weale,) brought in sundry exercises, sundrie lawes, and sundry gouernments, according to the qualitie of the peoples capacitie, and their owne fancies, & by sundry orders and vses did execute them. Which varietie of gouernments, haue ministred matter of much controuersy & contrarietie of opinions. In so much as the learned men both in our vniuersities & forraigne schooles, haue presumed to dispute how many sortes of commonweales there are, and which of them ought desertinglie, to be moste commended and imbraced. *Plato* and *Aristotle* in that matter do seeme to haue excelled all others. For they with great iudgement, and respect to the nature of men and the Regions of the world, haue learnedlie allotted lawes and gouernments agreeable with the disposition and humor of the places. Following therefore the opinion of these *Philosophers*, we will first frame three sortes of common weales. The first is called *Monarchia*, the second *Aristocratie*, and the third *Democratia*. The *Latines* haue named them *Regnum*, *Optimum principatus*, and *Popularis respub.*

God

God by his heauenly prouidence hath appointed, that the powers of mans minde shoulde rest in three sundry partes of his bodie; seeming thereby to represent three *Ideas* or formes of commonweales, appointing reason as King to haue his abiding in the heade & hiest part, as onely Lorde and Prince to commaund all. The second part as vigilant and readie to obey, hee hath placed neere vnto it in the breaste, making the same as a companion and helper vnto the heade. *Plato* calleth it *vis irascendi*, and *affectuum sedes*. The thirde resembling a multitude, witleffe, frowarde, and full of sensuall desires, hee hath harboured beneath the heart, seclused farre from both the other. In these parts of our soule (as in an image) wee may beholde three formes of commonweales. The highest hath the place of king, as destined and appoynted to commaunde all, the seconde though in place inferiour, yet in quality is of no lesse regarde, beeing well obeyed. For where reason ruleth without the guarde and ayde of the affections, all actions are weake and without force. Euen so a Senate not assisted by reason, which partlie as Captayne, and partly as Soldiour in all actions and consultations is vsed, becommeth fearefull and effeminate. *Aristotle* hath therefore deuised the power of reason, making one parte absolute and standing vpon it selfe, the other as it were depending and seruing, like vnto a sonne that obeyeth his Father. Which *Titus Livius* hath well expressed in setting forth the error of *Minutius* in his vnadvised fight against *Hanibal*, which *Fabius* doth reprehend in these wordes. O souldiours, (quoth hee) I haue often hearde that who so can by himselfe rightly iudge, is to be moste honoured, next vnto him are they that obey the good aduise of others. But hee that can neyther counsell himselfe, nor knoweth howe to followe an other mans aduise, is of all others, of least wisdom and capacitie. As touching the *Optimatie*, it hath not onely the force of reason, but in all actions is helped and incouraged by the affections, as the Poets haue written.

Reason without the affections, feable

Non hic sine numine diuum, furit.

The thirde parte of mans minde resembleth a popular gouernment: wherein the multitude hath authoritie to heare all matters, and determine all lawes, many contentions and discordes doe there ensue, like vnto the nature of men licentions and proane to lust, containing such life

as

Common-
weales resem-
bled to priuate
families.

as accordeth with reason and vertue. *Aristotle* doth also write, that the image of commonweales, may be found in priuate families. For the authoritie of the father ouer his children, may be likened to principallitie: because the children are the fathers charge. He alone must provide for them all, and their faultes are by him rather chastised then feuerely punished. Inlike manner ought a good king to behaue himselfe towarde his subiectes. Therefore *Iupiter* the God of Gods and men, is by *Homer* called Father. The husbandes authoritie ouer his wife may be compared to the *Optimatie*. For the husband ought to gouerne his wife according to iustice, and commaunde her to doe thinges honest. The populer state is likened to brotherly societie. For they ought to liue in equality, differing onely in the degrees of age. But as the Father that vseth his children wickedly, cruelly and vnnaturally, is reputed a tyrant and no father: Euen so a king that studieth for priuate commodity oppressing his subiectes, contemning his lawes, and liuing dishonorably, doth lose the name of a King and is called a Tyrante. Also a husband and wife liuing in discorde, eyther through negligence or wilfulnesse reiecting the care of their children and householde, doe thereby abuse their authoritie and become unworthy the name of naturall parentes. In like manner brethren disagreeing and quarrelling, neglecting the common profite, and giuing themselues to slouth or lasciuious life, are not to be accounted brethren. Thus it appeareth that through the default and imperfection of gouernours, true commonweales be conuerted into false and contrarie gouernments. The Monarchie or kingdome, becommeth a Tyrannie. The *Optimatie*, is reduced vnder the authoritie of a fewe. The popular common weale is conuerted into plebeiall insolencie. Politie (which the *Gracians* call *Politeia*, and is by *Plato* and *Aristotle* sometimes called *Respublica popularis*,) may be referred to all kindes of commonweales well gouerned, because that worde is vniuersall and includeth all ciuill gouernment. *Plato* addeth a seuenth kinde of gouernment, that is to witt, A King subiect to his lawes: making a Monarchie of two sortes, and consequently framing two Kinges, the one bounde and confined, the other free and not restrayned to anie lawe. This is the opinion of *Plato* touching Monarchie. The power & authoritie (saith he) of one Prince gouerning with good lawes, is among the fixe kindes of commonweales, the best and most perfect. But such
gouernment

By euill
uerment,
common-
weales are
chaunged.

The opinion
of *Plato*
touching
kinges.

gouernment being without lawes, is heauy, & hard to those that liue therein. Yet if the other states be also without lawes, that is the best, the seventh except. For a King gouerning in that sorte, is of all other gouernours to be obeyed and honoured as a GOD among men. The diuersitie of commonweales doth not proceed from fortune, nor the disposition of the heauens, but euery gouernment is framed according to the mindes of men, their wits and education. Also the varietie not onely of mens inclinations, but also the nature of commonweales is made diuers, through the diuersitie of countries, their climate and beeing. What shall I say of seditions, warre, and factions? for they oftentimes doe vtterly subuert commonweales, or chaunge them into states contrariwise gouerned. Such is the condition of worldly thinges, that mischance standeth next to good fortune, and vice is mixed with vertue, so as with facilitie men fall from good into euill. Sometimes it also happeneth, that commonweales well framed, through euill ministers are eyther extinguished, or altered into other formes of gouernment. Hereof it cometh that kingdomes become *Tyranies*; *Optimates* are made the gouernment of a fewe, and populer states are conuerted into licentious liberty, and from that, brought backe vnto *Tyranie*. *Plato* writeth that the change of commonweales is fatall, through disposition of the heauens and planets. The variations of states doe also otherwhiles proceede from the varietie of mens mindes and order of life. For in some state there be many rich men, in others many poore, in others plentie of noble men, soldiers and ploughmen, in others plenty of merchants, craftes men and artificers. Then whensoever the number of merchants, artifizants and ploughmen doe surmount the rest, that state most commonly becommeth popular. But where rich men are most plentiful, there groweth the gouernment of a fewe great men. Where the most part of Citizens be good men, wise and vertuous, that state is apt to be gouerned as an *Optimatie*. There are three thinges (as *Aristotle* thinketh) which contende for the gouernment, *Libertie*, *Riches*, and *Vertue*. For nobilitie, (which holdeth the fourth place) is companion both to vertue and riches, because the equall mixture of rich and poore men, is called a popular state. A faction onely of rich men, is named the gouernment of a fewe, and the consent of all three, that is to say, free men, rich men, and good men, is accounted an *Optimatie*. Such a one was the *Carthaginian* commonweale for riche men, good men, and noble men, were therein equally esteemed.

Euery gouernment ought to be framed according to the men, and place.

What sorts of men are fit for euery kinde of commonweales.

Thus

What people
doe most wil-
lingly obey
the king.

The people
of Asia natu-
rally seruile,

The best com-
mon weale is,
where the
people be
best ordered.

Thus haue wee discouered all kinde of common weales, which either by mans experience haue beene founde, or by the industry of law makers or Philosophers coulde bee deuised; but which of them is most perfect and excellent, cannot (as hath before beene saide) easilie be determined. For there is no man that preferreth and praiseth not the state wherein he was borne and bredde. Some more willingly doe liue in kingdomes then any other state, who are chiefly such men as are naturallie apt to honour those, that be virtuous and fitte for action. The *Cappadocians* hauing many ages liued vnder kinges (whose rase was extinguished) were offred by the *Romaines*, to haue their state conuerted into popular libertie, but they refused it. Then the *Romaines* appointed *Ariobarjanes* their friende to bee King of *Cappadocia*. The contrary course was followed by the *Athenians*, for they affecting a popular state, would neither consent to be gouerned by one nor many. Yea some there are that doe most allowe the *Tyranical* gouernment, as in oulde time the *Siculi*, whose state was alwaies accustomed to tyrants, and so are well neere all the people of *Asia*, who being by nature seruile, are euen till this age subiect to tyrannicall gouernment. Such as are fittest to be ciuilly gouerned, are men accustomed to honest riches and glory for their vertuous enterprises in warre. For they not forgetting the condition of their gouernment, are content by turnes aswell to obey as commaunde. But let vs nowe discourse of the best common weales. Whosoeuer shall take in hande to speake thereof, it behoueth him first to vnderstande what is the best kinde and order of life. For being thereof ignorant, a perfect commonweale cannot be conceiued. It standeth him also vpon to vnderstand, by what meanes men be brought to good order of liueing. For the state is alvvaies like vnto the men that liue therein, but which kinde of life ought bee accounted best the Philosophers haue not by consent determined. The *Stoicks*, the *Peripatetickes* & the *Epicures* doe diuerslie iudge of that matter, and into diuers sectes and opinions haue deuied the vvorlde. But our intent is to concurre vvith the *Peripatetickes*, because their scholes haue brought fourth men of most perfection, and to their virtues they haue ioyned the vse of externall thinges, vvherevvith the felicitie of man is not onelie ornified, but also perfected. Wee therefore accounte their preceptes to bee most profitable, asvvell for men as common vveales. The *Stoicks* louing austeritie of life, doe grounde their felicitie vpon vertue on-
lie,

lie, which we mislike not, so as therewith they consent, that to the vse of vertue men haue neede of externall goods, which both nature and fortune haue made for vse of man, to the ende he might become the more happy, better and perfect. For seeing that felicitie of man, is numbred among thinges of perfection, and that thing is onely perfect, which wanteth nothing: surely whosoever desireth to be happy, must of force be furnished fully, so as his felicitie may be absolute and without want. It behooueth him therefore to be wise, iust, temperate, valiant, rich, honourable, comely, healthie and strong. And sith the happinesse of mans life consisteth in his felicitie, and that he is made of bodie and minde, it is necessarie that he be no lesse happy in minde, then in bodie: For beeing in any of them infortunate or disabled, he cannot be called perfectly happie. Moreouer if all good thinges doe tend to mans felicitie, it is requisite to haue of them abundance, which whosoever hath, must vnderstand, that onely for himselfe he was not borne, but (as *Cicero* saith) his cuntry, his friendes, his kinsfolke and aliance doe claime their share in the fruites of his felicitie, because to euery of them, if he will be thought happye, it behooueth him to giue part, not onely of his treasure of minde, as iustice and wisdom, but also of all other thinges bestowed on him for the vse and life of man. The liberall man needeth money to performe the actions of liberality, and the iust man therewith must reward, and make satisfaction. The valiant man requireth force and powre, to be thereby inabled to execute somewhat worthy his vertue. The temperate man asketh authoritie and liberty, wherby he might shew himselfe to be such a one. The Philosophers affirme, that there are three sortes of life. The first consisteth in action, the second in contemplation, and the thirde in pleasure, which beeing exercised in lustes and licentiousnes, is beastly and proper to men of basest condition. That which resteth in action, vnlesse it be also accompanied with wisdom and vertue, proueth improfitable, and is subiect to great vices and imperfections. That which is employed in contemplation, not beeing ioyned with some action, becommeth vaine and without effect. For as men that earnestly behold the brightnes of the sunne, with the vehement heat and light thereof are made blinde: Euen so the minde of man continually wrought with imaginations & speculation of hie mysteries, doth become dull, heavy and languishing. Who so therefore desireth to liue vertuously and happely, must participate both of the ciuill and philosophicall liues, which are action and contem-

The felicitie
of man where
in it consisteth.

Mans life of
three sortes.

Reason the
most preci-
ous gift.

plation . The mixture of which two, doth make man to be like vn-
to G O D , blessed and fortunate . For hee that vseth his minde
to the cogitation of thinges diuine, is thereby made moſte acceptable
to G O D , who doth greatlye eſteeme of thoſe men, that liue ac-
cording to the ſpirite and reaſon; becauſe it appeareth thereby, that
they labour to bee like vnto him, who is alſo a ſpirite, and thinges of
one nature doe willingly conioyne in loue . They that vnto ſpe-
culation doe adde honeſt action, may alſo bee called diuine and hap-
pye . There is nothing more apparante, then that G O D among
manie other graces, hath giuen reaſon vnto men, as a giſte moſt ſin-
gular, to the ende that through vertue thereof, hee may beholde the
nature of all thinges aſwell coeleſtiall as terreſtriall, and therewith
honour reuerence and loue him . Who ſo therefore beeing minde-
full of G O D and natures benefites, doth well employe this heauen-
lie giſte of reaſon, and both in action and contemplation, imitate the
eternall G O D, doth thereby become as his childe, and is holden as a
God among men . Contrariwiſe, ſuch as doe forget nature and hu-
manitie, delighting onely in ſenſualitie, neglecting or vterlye forſa-
king reaſon, are accounted to haue of men nothing but the face and
name : becauſe the true and proper nature of man, is in them wan-
ting.

Why ſome
are free, and
others borne
to bondage.

Diuerſitie of
mens natures

Heereof proceedeth the diuerſitie of men, that through the ex-
erciſe of reaſon and vertue, ſome are borne free, noble, wiſe and fitte
to gouerne : others ſlaues, ruſticall, and witleſſe, deſtined to ſerui-
tude and bondage . Euerye ſocietie of men doth alſo willinglie o-
bey the wiſeſt, aduauncing them to offices and honours with greate
reſpecte and reuerence . *Plato* writeth that God in the creation of mens
natures hath taken ſuch order, as in the generation of thoſe that are
apte to gouerne, hee hath mixed golde ; To them that are de-
ſtined to aſſiſte the gouernours, hee hath put ſiluer ; And with the
nature of Plowe-men and Artizanes, Braſſe and Iron is compounded.
Which ſimilitude, *Aristotle* doth applye to the manners, vertues,
and capacities of men . For albeit that euerie man naturally deſi-
reth his children might reſemble himſelfe : Yet doth it often hap-
pen, that of golde commeth ſiluer, and of ſiluer ſome met-
tell of other nature . God hath therefore commaunded Princes
to vndeſtande the nature of their thildren, to the ende that
they

they, whose disposition is like vnto Iron, should be conuerted to gold, or that prouing impossible, he hath willed the gouernment shoulde be to others allotted. It hath beene also oraculously prophycied, that those Cities which are gouerned with Brasse and Iron, shoulde perish and come to confusion. *Xenocrates* appointeth the first parte of mans life to the exercise of vertue, the second to good health, the third to honest pleasure, and the fourth to the gathering of riches iustly. As without vertue mans life is vile, so is it without health, weake and feeble: For the minde shut vp within a sickly bodie, doth languish and become disable to performe his owne duetie. All men therefore through force of good lawes, ought be trained vnto happy life, for by such meanes, commonweales become good and blessed. Let vs nowe consider with which of these three states first remembred, the diuine and happy life doth best agree, which beeing knowen, the face and forme of a perfect commonweale is easily discerned. To the election of kinges men are induced, by their vertue, and beholding their egregious actes. For whensoever we see a man to excell in those things, wee accounte him as a God among men, and forthwith consent to make him king, following the common prouerbe. *Rex eris, si recte facies*. Because that gouernment is iust, where the gouernour is vertuous, commaunding himselfe, and ruling his subiectes, not as a Maister gouerneth his seruantes, but as a father ruleth his children. The *Athenians* (as *Demosthenes* in his oration against *Xeara* writeth) when *Theseus* had framed their commonweale, were wonte to choose some one of the vertuous number, and by holding vp their handes elected him Kinge. In olde time, the election of kinges was among all people holden a thing diuine and holy. *Romulus* after the sight of twelue Rauens, (as *Liuius* sayeth) or rather because the lightning had pearced his bodie, from the lefte to the right side; (as *Dionysius* writeth) was by diuination chosen king, which was the respecte, that by lawe it was provided, that no man should take vpon him any magistracie or be made kinge, without diuination. In so much as that ordinance called *Ius Auspiorum* was obeyed and religiously obserued. The authoritie of kinges hath euer beene accounted a thing diuine, for *Homer* and *Isocrates* affirme, that hee who gouerneth alone, doth represent a diuine maiesty. The kinges of *Persia* were honoured as Gods, and the people beleued their authoritie to be the onelie defendour

How mans
life is im-
ployed.

What things
are chiefly
considered in
the election
of kinges.

The authori-
tie of kinges
diuine.

Optimacy.

Popular
States.

Aristides.

and mainteynour of the commonweale. The ancient *Latines* called their Kinges *Indigetes*, that is to saye, deified, (as *Eneas* and *Romulus* were) whose bodies after death coulde neuer be founde. The election of kinges, was in time paste proper to the moste vertuous people, vnto whome the gouernment of Tyrantes was odious. Yea the ancient lawe of God, doth as it were allowe, or rather commend the gouernment of one. An *Optimatie* consisteth of vertuous Citizens, who deserue commendation in respecte of vertue, because they gouerne the commonweale, as becommeth good men, in no wise digressing from the rule and line of lawe. In popular commonweales all thinges be contrarie handled: for libertie beeing the ende thereof, the state is ruled according to will, and popular furie, most commonly without vertue and reason. In such Cities men are called good, because they are profitable to the commonweale, not for that they are indued with honestie, which consisteth in action of vertue: So as vertue is measured, not by honestie, but by common profite and libertie. For popular iustice (called *Ius popolare*) is, where the honours are giuen, not according to vertue of him that receiueth them, but the number of those that giue them, who thinke those thinges not to bee iust which by iustice ought be, but that which to the greatest number doth seeme iust, esteeming that also to be honourable, which by popular fame is accounted glorious. Therefore although in all sortes of commonweales the lawes of vertue are sometimes peruered, yet doth the same most commonly happen in popular states. For if any good man liuing there, shall happen to mislike the plebeyall life, and doth labour by admonishing, reprehending, and correcting the Citizens, to reduce them to honesty and vertue, he is forthwith iudged an enemy to liberty, and by the law *Ostracismo* arested, and many times put to death. With this kind of persecution, many notable Citizens inhabiting the popular states of *Gracia* were afflicted, as *Cymon*, *Aristides*, *Thucydides*, *Socrates*, *Themistocles*, and *Damon*: also in *Rome*, *Camillus* and *Scipio* were in like manner handled. The fame of *Aristides* is of all posterity worthy to be remembred; he being a man singularly vertuous & wise, for his integrity of life & honest cōuersatiō was with the assent of all men surnamed *Iustus*. At such time as the law *Ostracismus* was vsed in *Athens*, a certaine rude & rustical fellow, bearing a scrol of paper in his hand hapned to mete him, & with great earnestnes required, that the name of *Aristides* might be therein writtē.

Aristides

Aristides much marueiling thereat, asked whether any man had euer beene by him iniured, no, (quoth hee) but I cannot in anye wise indure thy surname of *Iustus*. *Cicero* reporteth, that at such time as the *Ephesi* banished their Prince *Hermodorus*, they pronounced this sentence, *Let none of vs excell an other*, but if anye so doe, let him no longer heere dwell, but inhabite elsewhere. O moste straunge customes of popular commonweales! *Plato* vseth that speach before of vs remembred, that no state doth continue, beeing gouerned with Iron or Brasse, that is to say, by foolish men, borne rather to obey then commaunde. For they after some fortunate successe of warre, taking vnto them loftie mindes, haue at hande tutors and popular Captaines to extoll and commende their vertue. Then after long hunger, allured with the sweete baite of glory, they reiect the authoritie of their leaders and all wise men, taking the gouernment wholly into their owne handes, directing the same by their owne willes and discretion, which is the cause that such commonweales are not of long continuance. For through diuersitie of minds, those men become voyde of counsell, and after much insolencie, contention, and faction, they yeelde their obedience eyther to a fewe, or some one mightie personage. So did the people of *Athens* which beeing author of the victorie by sea, against the *Medians*, puffed vp with pride of that fortune, stirred greate troubles and seditions in that state, and all good Citizens laboured in vaine to preuente that mischief. Also the originall of popular states, doth sometimes proceede of Rebellion attempted against the nobilitie: as it many times happened in *Rome*: when the people tooke armes against the Kings and Senate. Sometimes also the cause of such popular gouernment, proceedeth through good successe of some action enterprised by the people. Who taking vpon them the minde of Lordes, doe vsurpe the state, as did the *Athenians* when they had vanquished the *Medians*, and as the *Romaines* hauing ouerthrowne the *Carthaginenses*. The same also otherwhiles chanceth, when the people is made desperate, by tyrannie of their Prince and gouernours, for then by force of armes, or oppression of their king, they frame a forme of gouernment among themselues, which in our dayes the *Swisseis* haue done. A popular state established with good lawes is

The originall
causes of
states popu-
lar.

The vertue
of euery peo-
ple knowne
by the lawes
and gouer-
ment.

Lacedemoni-
ans.

Venetians.

The forme of
the Lacede-
monian com-
monweale.

The Romane
state.

manie times gouerned iustlie and poletiquelye, but the same wan-
ting lawes or consente of the people, doth not merite the name of
a commonweale. Of the *Oligarchia* or *Tyrannie* I meane not to en-
treate, because such gouernment is in all respectes vniuste, contra-
rie to vertue and ciuill-life. The excellencie of euery people or
commonweale, may be knowne by the gouernement, lawes and li-
berties thereof. For those people are accounted the beste, which
within a good commonweale doe liue with iustice and libertye, and
they deserue the more commendation, that doe continue the same
with most constancie and longe preseuerance, which thinges are
thought chiefly to appertaine, to the antiquity of men liuing in honour
and-nobilitie. The *Lacedemonians* are highly praised, for hauing con-
tinued seauen hundred years without any alteration of their customs,
their lawes, or their gouernment: But the *Venetians* haue in that respect
deserued greater glory, because they, till these our daies, haue cōstant-
ly liued in one forme of gouernment, by the space of a thousand years, or
more. Thus haue we discoursed the diuers formes of commonweales,
with the natures & disposition of men there liuing. Among them (as
easily appeareth) the *Principalitie* and *Optimatie* are the best. This, for
that therein most good men doe exercise the publique functions: and
that, because the publique commoditie is preserued by one with gene-
rall consente of minde. So as if any doe excell the reste, to him the
commonweale is committed. In these two states men doe liue best,
because the order of them doth not onely preserue Cities, but al-
so make the Citizens happie. Some men haue thought the moste
perfect commonweale, should be tempered and framed of all the three
estates. Which is the cause, that they preferre the *Lacedemonian* go-
uernment being compounded of the nobilitie, (which was the *Senators*)
of the authoritie of one, (which was the King) and of the people
(which were the *Ephori*.) For they were alwaies chosen among the
number of popular men: *Polibius* extolleth the *Romane* state, be-
cause it consisted of the King, the Nobilitie, and the people; sup-
posing that the king for feare of the people, coulde not become
insolente, and the people durste not disobeye him, in respecte of the
Senate. Which forme of commonweale was with good reason
accounted most iust. For as perfect harmonie is compounded, of
treble

treble, meane, and base tewnnes : euen so a good commonweale ; and the surest agreement amongst men, is (as *Cicero* saith) made by mixture of the best, the meane, and the base people . We are also of opinion, that commonweale is perfect, which containeth good and vertuous, subiectes, and is gouerned by a king, a Senate, and consent of the people; wishing the King should obserue his lawes, and doe those thinges which be honourable, and agreeable to the aduise of his counsell. For the lawe is most perfect reason, whereunto whosoever obeyeth, doth seeme a God among men . Wee wish likewise, that all Councillors should be men of much vertue : for they being a meane betwixt the king and people, may the rather giue counsell, by what meanes the state may be safely gouerned . The authoritie of Councillors consisteth in consulting, iudging and commaunding . The king vseth these men as friendes and Councillors, imploying their vertue and aduise in matters of most difficulty, which is the cause that men say, the king hath many hands, many eyes, and many feete. Moreover, for that it seemeth a thing rather diuine then humaine, that one man alone should gouerne the whole state, it is necessary to haue the aide of many others; yet referring the determination to the king alone, all things are like to proceede well. But he that doth manage all matters without Counsel, trusting only to his owne iudgement, is thought rather a selfe-liker, then a wise man. As therfore the aduise of Councillors is profitable in commonweales, where the resolution is reserued to the king only. So where the determination resteth in many, the same becommeth vnprofitable. For as a man hauing many seruantes, and commaunding somewhat to be done, euery one runneth, & yet nothing is done; but committing his busines to one alone, findeth the same performed : So happeneth it in commonweales, where many haue authority, one trusting to another, they become careles, & the affaires of the commonweale receiue preiudice. The multitude of gouernours doth (as experience teacheth) proue vnprofitable, & therfore the proverbe saith, *Rex vnicus esto*. And as the head, without perill of life, cannot be taken from the heart, so may not the king be remoued from his Councell, because such disjunction breedeth discord to the common weale, and in the ende confusion and destruction may followe thereof.

A perfect cō-
monweale.

The authority
of Cōcellors

The necessity
of Cōcellors

In euery commonweale a Councell is of greates necessitie, for

is

it giueth aduise, not onely to the king, but vnto the state also; not vnlike vnto the vitall parte of mans soule, which being in the heart, giueth life to that which is pertaker of Reason, & is placed in the head. The king also through aduise of the Senate doth more profitably direct the commonweale, because hee onely doth gouerne, although in gouernment hee vseth to be counselled. For as reason doth in all proceedinges thereof, employe the seruice of the senses: Yet is it that alone which determineth, and ought aboute the reste to be honoured. A Prince therefore contente to be counselled, becometh of all other men the wisest, because hee beareth aboute him a iudgemente perfecte and fullye furnished with the instructions and aduise of many. Thus doing, a Kinge shall well gouerne all things, not onelye through his owne opinion, which may many waies be deceiued, but also by the common aduise and councill of others, whereby his reason and iudgemente is brought to perfection. Of which two thinges who so euer is possessed, may deseruinglye bee thought a GOD among men. Euen as the hand deuied into many fingers, is thereby made strong and apte to laye holde of all things. So he that gouerneth with the assistance of Councillors and ministers, shall doe all thinges with better discretion and wisdom. For one man is not fitt to performe all actions. *Alexander* of *Macedon* with his small hande conquered greate enemies. *Pyrhus* excelled in choosing places of fortification. *Haniball* was often victorious, yet ignorant how to vse the victorie. *Philopemen* was skilfull in the warres by sea. *Cleon* coulde manure landes and possessions. *Cicero* was an excellent Orator, *Pompeius* a Captayne, *Cato* a Councillor, and *Scipio* skilfull both in warre and peace. So were diuers others: for euery man (as saith the prouerbe) is *Roscius* in his owne facultie. Wee will, that the popular order or meane officers of this our commonweale (who ought also to participate of the gouernment) shall be chosen amongst the better and moste vertuous sorte of subiectes, wherein an *Optimatie* is resembled, for they are as a Seminarie of Councillors and other magistrates. Betwixt which two sortes of men, this is the onely difference, that those which are placed in the soueraigne offices, beeing both for age and dignitie the worthier persons, shall be most esteemed and honoured. As for
the

Ordo popularis.

the rest of the people, it shall suffice, that they bee maintayned in ciuill life, and obedience of the Magistrates . For our meaning is not, that anye of the multitude, as Plowemen, Artizanes, and other persons of vile occupation shall aspyre vnto the offices, which oughte bee giuen vnto welthye Citizens, Gentlemen, and oibers of good education and wisedome. Moreouer, for so much as, all our discourse tendeth to describe a perfecte commonweale, which is that wherein the people doe liue happlye: and happynesse proceedeth of vertue, it behooueth that men beeing borne in that state shoulde bee capable of vertue, felicitie, and honestie. Wee maye not therefore permitte, that any Artizan, Merchant, or bondman shall exercise the gouernment, because their trade of life is vile, and voyde of vertue. And albeit they are necessarie for the societie of men, yet in respect they bee occupied in actions vnfitte for free men, they are not to bee admitted to gouerne the commonweale. Which was the reason that mooued *Constantinus* the Emperour to determine by lawe, that none of the base multitude, or mechanicall people shoulde beare office in the state, because it is presumed, that Cities were builded as well for the habitation of wise and honest men, as persons of necessitye. Yet are not such men to be contemned or reputed miserable, for it were vniuste, and againste the vniue of a commonweale, to deprive them of all honour and rewarde, beeing partakers of euerye burthen, and also of such condition as withoute them, the state cannot bee maintayned. It is therefore necessarie, that they doe participate of such offices as are fit for their callinges, and receiue rewardes accordinge to their qualitie. For as the noble and wealthie subiectes bee honoured in their vocation, so these hauing vertuouslye deserued, oughte to bee aduanced. *Aristotle* and *Plato* his Maister, doe affirme there are sixe thinges wherewith euerye Citie shoulde abounde, and that without them it cannot bee. The first is victuall or foode, the prouiding whereof belongeth to husbandmen and heardemen: The seconde is necessarye handie craftes, which is performed by the Artificers: The thirde is Armes to resiste forraine enemies and repress ciuill disorder. It is therefore expediente to haue Soldiours prepared, and exercised, to the

Merchantes,
Artizans, and
seruants re-
pelled from
gouernment.

Six thinges in
all states re-
quired.

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The com. con-
sisteth of fixe
sortes of mē.

Two sortes of
men onely fit
for the pla-
ces of gover-
ment.

The office of
meane sub-
iectes.

The office of
Priestles,

ende that the commonweale may be defended from forraine inuasion, and conserued in liberty and in peace. Fourthly the state hath neede of money, both for ciuill and militarie vses. Fiftlie it requireth ministers of diuine sacramentes. Sixtlic Iudges and Councillors are needefull, becauē euerie commonweale is gouerned by good Councell, to the ende that iniustice, and the iniquitie of men may be extirped. By meane whereof iniurers, contemners of lawe, and all iniust persons be punished. Thus it appeareth, that euery commonweale consisteth of fixe sortes of men, to witt, husbandmen, Artizans, Merchantes, Soldiours, Priestes, Iudges, and Councillors. Of this number wee will leaue aside three, as men vnfitte to gouerne, which are husbandmen, Merchantes and Artizantes, beeing borne rather to serue, then commaunde. For to the happinesse of euerie commonweale, the councell of wise and free men is required, and the state needeth liberall, quiete, and honest ayde, which wanteth in men that are occupied in vncleane and illiberall artes. Two sortes of men therefore are onelie to be employed as gouernours, that is to say; Soldiours and Councillors. For seeing that in all commonweales, two times are looked for, that is to witt, a time of peace and a time of warre. It behooueth, that those onely shoulde be accounted gouernours, vnto whome the care of peace and warre is committed. For in time of warre the commonweale is defended by Armes, and in time of peace the same is preserued by Councell. Therefore to Soldiours and Councillors the conseruation and authoritie of gouernment ought to bee committed. To the inferiour officers, which wee call *Popularis ordo*, wee giue power to electe the greate Magistrates, with other rightes belonging to publike libertie and felicitie: Yet not to all men in generall, but to euerye one in particular, according to his vertue and office. The yonger sorte shall be employed in warre, because they are the strongest and of most force, and the elders muste gouerne and directe, as men of more wisdom and experience. Of such distribution, this good will ensue, which in euerie commonweale is commendable and holie, that men of grauitie and wisdom shall without iniurie to others exercise the soueraigne offices, and the yonger sorte wanting experience, shall not in those places intermeddle nor deale in the affayres of mooste weight and greatest importance. Amonge these degrees and fundrie sortes of men, the order of Priesthood

Priestthoode hath the precedence, because the same is imployed in the administration of diuine ceremonies. The dignitie of that office hath alwayes bene holden moſte holie, for in *AEgypte* it is vnlawefull for anye Kinge to gouerne, vnleſſe hee bee alſo a Prieste. Their duetie was to ſacrifice to G O D for the peoples wellfare, and pray for thoſe thinges which were profitable, aſwell for priuate perſons as the weale publique. When *Alcibiades* was condemned by the *Athenians*, order was taken that the religious people of eyther ſexe ſhoulde curſe him, which one of them refuſed to doe, ſaying they had entered Religion, not to make vniuſte but iuſte prayers. *Plato* in his common weale willeth, that the election of Priestes ſhoulde be leſte vnto G O D, to the ende that thoſe whome hee thought fitteſt might by lotte and fortune aſpyre vnto that dignitie. Hee commaunded moreouer, that thoſe which were in election to bee choſen, ſhoulde bee examined whether they were perſons honeſte, ſounde, of good education, and borne of noble parentage, and whether they were free from murther, and all other vices, contrarye to Gods commaundementes. Hee ordayned likewiſe, that no Prieste ſhoulde exerciſe that function longer than one yeare, nor be of leſſe age then thirtie yeares. Theſe and ſuch like ordinances of priethoode, *Plato* the wiſe Philoſopher (as it were by diuine inſpiration) hath written.

Ordinances
of *Plato* touching
Priest-
hood.

For they ſeeme to haue bene gathered rather from the Lawe of *Moses*, then the diſcipline of *Socrates*. This Phyloſopher had his education among the Priestes of *Egypte*, where hee learned ſuch inſtructions as made his Philoſophie ſo perfect, that whatſoeuer proceeded from the mouth of *Plato*, was accounted diuine. *Aristotle* excludeth this ſpirituall miniſter from the administration of ciuill pollicie, giuing that authoritie, to the well deſeruing Citizens. Seeing then it is neſſarie that G O D ſhoulde bee ſerued, and that the Citizens of authoritie (as is aforeſaide) are of two ſortes, that is to witte, Soldiours and Councillors, it appeareth no bondeman, Artizan, Marchante or other perſon of baſe profeſſion oughte be receiued into the miniſterie, but that euerye Prieste ſhall bee elected amonge the number of Soldiours or profeſſors of learning, and that with reſpecte of age and qualitie of bodie, to the ende they maye bee fitte to exerciſe the office of that diuine callinge.

Among what
ſort of men
Priestes
ſhould be
choſen,

For

For it seemeth reasonable, that those who in their youth haue carefully & manfully employed themselves in the seruice of their commonweale, beeing become wried and vnable for action, should in their age be admitted to liue contemplatiuelie, and die in Gods seruice. Among those kinde of men therefore he commaundeth, that the ministerie shoulde be distributed. Of the *Athieste*, we will say nothing, neyther will we discourse of the Philosophers religions, who though not so impiouly, yet otherwise then we, do honour God. Because ours is the true God, the true religion, and our ministers farre vnlike to theirs. It hath beene also determined in schooles and Vniuersities, that the most ancient and sincere religion shoulde be knowen to all men. But in what sorte the Priestes of our commonweale ought to be chosen, our intent is not heere to discourse, neuerthelesse let vs consider, whether they ought to be admitted to gouerne in the state or no. It seemeth apparantly, that the Priestes in most ancient time were made by the author all good, and first lawemaker *Iesus Christ*, who beeing himselfe before all others, a Priest according to the lawe of *Melchisedech*, did thereby declare he was the head and foundation of that order, & that nothing was in heauen more holy, nor in earth more diuine, nor in the whole worlde better, and to those men he gaue the knowledge and iudgement of that diuine lawe and ordinance. It was therefore thought expedient, profitable, and necessary, that the Princes of euerie commonweale should be accompanied and councelled with spirituall ministers; and that not without cause. For what is more worthy, or in gouernment more iuste and godly, then that those who be indued with wisdom (not learned in the temple of *Delphos* but receiued from the heauenly spirite,) should execute the lawes thereof iustlie and holily. Who so then doth banishe those men from the commonweale, seemeth vniust, barbarous, vnexpert, and no Citizen of our Christian state. And if euerie commonweale be conserued by the religion of God, wherein the ministers haue moste knowledge, those states seeme to doe most godly and iustly, that in their gouernments haue employed such counsell; as the *Romanes*, the *Egyptians* the *Iewes*, and many other haue heeretofore done. To such men therefore God hath committed the welfare and felicitie of men. Who is then so simple or sencelesse, that thinketh not their counsell necessary for the conseruation of libertie, goods and fortune? Heether to wee haue declared which is the best commonweale, and what order of life the
Citizens

Citizens thereof ought to embrace. A commonweale then so framed, accustomed to vertue, and plentifully furnished with fortunes giftes, doth seeme of all other thinges to be most noble, most holy, and most fortunate. In the description whereof, least we be thought to haue one selfe conceit with *Plato*, so as what hath bene said of his commonweale, may be likewise affirmed of ours, (that neuer any such thing is, hath bene, or can be,) it seemeth necessary to produce examples of those formes of gouernment. And although our intent is not to abandon the reason of Philosophers, yet whēsoeuer they relyouer much to their own wisdom, (as sometimes they doe) esteeming more their priuate iudgement, then the opinion of others, our meaning is not to belecue them. For there be many things in their bookes and sayings, which with the times present, and vse of ciuill life, are not in any wise conformable. For if the *Venetians*, the *Scoises* or *Geneuioies*, should imitate the gouernment of *Plato* his commonweale, in vaine they should doe it, or if we did follow the ordinances of *Cyrus* writren by *Xenophon*, happely the same should not much informe our Princes. Of other commonweales I speake not. The description of that state which we intend to frame, shalbe ordinarie, reasonable, and according to the custome of men, yet accompayning the same with Philosophicall histories. The forme of our perfect commonweale was described in the ancient *Athenian* Monarchie. That people being dispersed, and like vnto beastes wandring in the field, were first by *Cecrope*, and after by *Theseus* constrained to inhabite a Citie, which was then called *Cecropia*, and since named *Athens*, and at length (reduced to a kingdom) descended to their posterity. But what authority the Senate, vnder those kings had, (which order did represent the *Optimatie*) by reason the time is long since passed, and few writers haue therof written, cannot be to vs apparantly knowen: yet must we belecue, that those kings had about them wise men, whose counsell they imployed in gouerning. The kings of that age (as *Thucydides* affirmeth) did rule by consent of the people, and with their suffrages determined many thinges, whereof themselues were doubtfull. Yet that gouernment indured not, but was through tract of time (which altereth all things) committed to the multitude, whose force and power vtterly subuerred the commonweale. The *Lacedemonian* state (as is before said) seemed to containe all three sortes of gouernment, that is; the King, the Nobilitie, and people. What shoulde I say of the *Romanes*? Shall I not

*Plato his
commōweale*

*The Athenian
cōmonweale.*

*The Lacedemonian com-
monweale.*

The Romane
Monarchie.

call those times golden, when kinges were content to be Councelled? *Romulus*, as *Liuit* writeth, being by consent both of Gods and men elected king, notwithstanding the state was then little, refused to gouerne the same alone, calling vnto him an hundred Senators for his assistance, whom eyther in respect of their age or vertue, he called fathers. And least the people should holde themselves ill satisfied, and defrauded of all honours, and thereby hatred might ensue, eyther towards the King or Senate, he made them capable of the iudiciall offices, and suffered them to haue voyces in determining warre, and concluding of peace, with many other priuiledges. And wolde God that forme of commonweale had still continued in *Rome*: For then so great effusion of blood had not beene made, in the aspyring to liberty, and extending the boundes of the *Romane* Empyre. Neyther shoulde the happines of that state haue beene with so many seditions disturbed, whereby scarcely at any time it hath liued in peace. But let vs now consider of

The Empyre
of Germany.

commonweales in our age: we see that the Empyre of *Germanie* consisteth of the Emperour, the Princes and the people. That state beeing gouerned by diuers potentates, and the pollecy drawne into sundry gouernmentes, cannot easely be described. The french Monarchie, hath in it a king who ruleth at his owne discretion, and although his authoritie be not confined to lawe, yet against lawe and honour he doth not any thing, but liueth as a iust and honourable Prince. In that kingdome, the noble men whom they call peares, represent an *Optimatie*, the people is deuided into three sortes, Gentlemen, Priestes, and popular multitude, and a choise number compounded of these three, and assembled by the kings commandement, doe determine of matters, which in the commonweale are of most importance. This Councell was anciently called *Pauceltium*, as the *Aetholi* named their generall assemblie *Panatolium*, or as the vniuersall Councels of *Ionia* was termed *Panionium*.

The Monar-
chy of Spayne

In *Spayne* the king hath authority soueraigne, the Councel royall resemblith the *Optimatie*, and the three chiefe orders of knighthood, may be likened to the popular state. For the order of *S. Iago*, *Callatrana*, & *Alcantara*, assembled with the king, do determine of matters most important.

The Monar-
chy of Polon-
ia.

The kingdome of *Polonia* doth also consist of the said three sortes, that is, the king, nobility and people. But it is to be noted, that this word people includeth only knights and gentlemen. The liberty & fellowship of those orders is so great, as the king, without aduise of his coucel & their authority doth not any thing, neither can the coucel determine without the al-

lowance

lowance of the King, and consent of the people. In that kingdome the lawes are of so great force, as euery man religiously sweareth to keepe and obserue them, and if contrarie to that othe any thing be done, the same is accounted iniust and impious. That othe which they sweare for the obseruation of their lawes and liberty is in their language called *Capitue*, which signifieth in Latine *Tegmen capitis*, for as the heade is kept from cold by being couered, so through vertue of that othe, their lawes, liberty and welfare is conserued, because in maintayning thereof, no good man feareth to aduenture his life against Tyrants, and all others that labour to violate the boundes of publique liberty and happinesse. That people therefore doe liue in great liberty, beeing perswaded that to liue according to lawe, is indeed perfect freedome. In that kingdome, the Prince gouerneth by lawes, and proceedeth not according to will. In making of warre or concluding of peace, he vseth the aduise of his Councell, neuer transgressing the lawes; which worketh this effect, that among the people the kinges person is not onely highly honoured, but also for a God rightly reuerenced and adored. For who is he that would not entirely loue, honour, and reuerence that Prince, who in gouerning, is of one selfe minde with the lawe, contented to be led by the line of reason, directing his doings, according to the expert wisdom of his Councillors. If authority be thus vsed, what consent, loue, and mutuall affection doth it make among subiectes? To conclude, the king of *Polonia* seemeth such a Prince, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, and other law-makers haue wished to be in commonweales, & as nature and God himselfe doth allowe. The Senate doth in that state represent the *Optimate*, and hath (as is aforesaid) great authority. For being chosen amongst the most graue and wise gentlemen, they onely with the king doe consult of the commonweale. Their authority is not vnlike to the *Homotimes* in *Persia*, or the *Ephori* in *Lacedemonia*. The gentlemen of *Polonia* doe represent the popular state, for in them consisteth a great part of the gouernment, and they are as a Seminarie from whence Councillors and Kinges are taken. The kingdome of *Brytannie* now called *England*, obeyeth one King, who chooseth his Councillors, vnto whome the rest of the Nobility and popular order being ioyned, doe make one common Councell: which in their language is called Parliament. The *Venetian* state, seemeth framed after the same fashion, but they within the name of people, doe onely include Gentlemen and Citizens, taking great heede, least any other

The kingdome of England.

The Venetian state.

should vsurpe that title, because they onely are capable of the magistracie. Out of that number the Senate is chosen, which representeth an *Optimate*, and is as a foundation of that state. The Duke is also elected of that number resembling a king. And surely there is no Monarchie or commonweale that can compare with it, for quiet gouernment and longe continuance; whether the cause thereof proceedeth from God, from fortune, from the obseruation of Iustice, or from the naturall seate of that Citie, I neede not nowe to discourse. But true it is, that all occasions of ciuill discention and subuersion are remooued. Of good commonweales, let this we haue sayde suffice: and consider what are those thinges that doe chiefly make them perfect and happie.

In euery cō-
monweale
three things
required.

The office of
Magistrates.

Lawe, the
soule of
commonweals.

In euery good and perfect commonweale, three thinges are specially required, that is to say, Magistrates, lawes, and ciuill discipline: for without these, no Citie nor societie of men coulde euer be preferued. The office of Magistrates is, to rule and commaund the people to doe those thinges, that be iust, profitable and agreeable to lawe and reason. *Cicero* no lesse learnedly then eloquently saith, that as the lawes gouerne the Magistrates, so the Magistrates ought to gouerne the people: and the Magistrate may be iustly called the liuing lawe: and the lawe a dōmbe Magistrate. Hee therefore in all commonweales is of greate necessitie: for without his wisdom, counsell, fidelitie, and discretion, no state can stande nor be gouerned, whereof also the state and order of euery commonweale may be known. As the shippe in tempestuous seas is endangered, and many time drowned vnlesse by the labour and industrie of the mariners it be saued: So the commonweale tormented with tempest of seditions and discord, must perish, if through the diligence and wisdom of the Magistrates it be not preferued. Or as mans bodie is ruled by reason, so euery Citie and societie of men must of necessitie containe a soule (which is the lawe) to be thereby gouerned, and that lawe proceedeth from the reason, counsell and iudgement of wise men. For where no lawes nor Magistrates are, there no God, no men, nor no society can be continued. The true law of man is reason, which wise men doe giue vnto themselves, & others receiue from the Magistrates, perswading them to eschue things forbidden by law, no lesse then if the same were contrary to reason. They therefore that in wisdom & discretion do excell others, & are (as is aforesaid) made

made of golden or siluer nature, because they can deserue best of mans society, are to be aboue others aduanced. For as Cities well walled and fortified, are thereby defended from the fury of enemies: So tranquillitie and happie life is by the councell of wise men preserued. Therefore it behooueth them first, to be indued with such vertues as may make the commonweale happy, then, that they be affectionate to the state, and liue therein contented, to the ende they attempt no innouation, and lastly that they be authorised to execute those thinges, which they thinke profitable for the commonweale. For so shall they commaund with more reputation, and the subiectes more willingly obey them. Surely whosoever shall without indignitie aspyre to the place of supreme gouernment, hath neede to vse great art and singular wisdom. For such a one is to gouerne, not one onely house, not one onely famely, not one onely wife, not one onely rase of children, but the commonweale, deuided into infinite and contrarie humors of men, which by his wisdom must be reduced to one consent, equality, and concord. Moreover for somuch as in commonweales, there are three degrees of magistrates, among whom the king holdeth the most supream place, next vnto him is the Senate, and the third is distributed to the people, what profit may be reaped of euery of them, let vs now consider. The kinges authority contayneth great vertue, high vnderstanding, and diuine wisdom; for as God is prince of the vniuersall world, so is the King Lord of the whole commonweale. It behooueth him therefore to gouerne iustlie and godlie, because in the commonweale he is accounted the Lieutenent of God. For the Councell, wisdom, and knowledge of kinges is not their owne, but giuen them of God. Also, for somuch as, no king can with his diligence and onely wisdom, equally gouerne the whole state, (for it is rather the vertue of God then man, exactly to know all thinges apperteyning to good gouernment) they haue therefore vsed to call vnto their assistance some wise men, whereby the commonweale might be the better gouerned. Those men beeing as a meane betwixt the king and the people, doe on the one side, know the office of the king, and on the other, what are the customes and lawes belonging to the people: thereof conceiuing, what ought be done for preseruati-
on of the kinges honour, and what apperteyneth to the profit of the commonweale & people. We thereof inferre, that these magistrates or counsellors, are of all other most able to stand the cōmonweale in stead.

What know-
ledges ought
be in Coun-
cellors.

What magi-
strates are
most profita-
ble in the
state.

The office of
Kinges.

A Senate in a
commonweales
of much ne-
cessitie.

The originall
of Counsell-
lois.

What a Se-
nate is.

What sort of
men ought to
be made Se-
nators.

The king being but one onely man, cannot looke vnto all thinges, and sometimes it happeneth that eyther by giuing liberty to his appetites, or yeelding to his affections, hee is seduced from true reason: and the ignorant multitude, being (as they say) without head or discretion, cannot be capable of that knowledge. Yet the Senate being chosen, and made of vertuous, wise and expert men, may from their place (as from a watch-tower) looke about, and provide thinges needefull for the state, preuenting all seditions, tumultes, and perils that can be attempted: which is the respect, there is not skantlie any commonweale, which vseth not to commit eyther the whole, or the greatest charge of gouernment to the Senate. For albeit they were indeede called Kings, who first assembled the habitation of men into Cities, liuing before sauagely, disperfed in woods and fieldes; yet with that course of gouernment, the kings could not alone retayne them in obedience. Neyther did the authority and wisdom of one Prince suffice, when the mindes of men were reduced to ciuilitie, and their wonted bestialitie reiected. It therefore behoued kings to be accompanied with the Councell of wise men, to the ende the commoweale might be the better gouerned: which we reade, was done by *Romulus*. For he supposing that the gouernment of one without aduise of Counsell, would proue eyther perilous, odious, or without grauitie, did call vnto his assistance a hundreth Senators, whome eyther in respect of their age, or wisdom, he named Fathers. The like was done by *Theopompus*, king of *Sparta*, who appoynted the *Ephori*, giuing them great authoritie in the state: whereat his wife offended, and saying, that he had thereby diminished the power of his posteritie in that kingdome, answered, that it was enlarged and strengthened, being perswaded, that thorough Counsell and authoritie of the Senate, the state wold be exceedingly encreased and inforced. Whereby it appeareth, that the aduice of Counsellors were from the beginning by kings embraced, and all men haue thought those resolutions to be most firme and assured, which were by Councell and wisdom of the Senate digested. I call that a Senate, which is the chiefe magistracie appoynted to giue Counsell and gouerne the state. And consequently, the Senator is a man lawfully elected into the number authorised to counsell, & gouerne the commonweale. It hath therefore alwaies beene, that the order of Counsellors was framed of the most discreet, wise, and noble sort of subiectes: because

because there is not any society of men so barbarous, but desireth the gouernment should rest in men of such vertue, and thinketh it a thing honest and iust to obey them. Among all sortes of men, there is not any so wise, and of such perfect and absolute vertue, as is the Senator, because all others, eyther through want of yeares, lacke of experience, or inconstancie, are (for the most parte) withdrawn from the best course of life; but a Counsellor is not by any affections troubled, by appetites transported, nor by youth inueigled, but by reason gouerned, by Counsell directed, and by age made perfect. Counsellors also in respect of their capacities, reason, Counsell, iudgement, and ripenes, may be called Senators, because in them all youthfull appetites and furies be decayed, and the force of reason increased; which being grown to perfection in men, doth make them like vnto Gods. Furthermore, for so much as there are (as the Philosophers affirme) in all things three degrees, Great, Small and Indifferent, that is thought most perfect, which doth participate of eyther. So the Senator being as it were a meane, betwixt the king and people, may the better finde the perfection of all things, and consider, what are the offices of Kinges, and what the dutie of people, with the right, liberties, and lawes apperteyning to eyther, least the people, for want of good gouernment, do couer immoderate liberty, or the King lacking aduise, doe fall into tyranny. It behoueth the Counsellor to be of high wisdom, great vnderstanding, and much experience, endeavouring himselfe to be carefull and vigilant, for the well doing, quiet and happinesse of all the commonweale, which ought be the study of him that is of high capacity and supernaturall vnderstanding. *Scipio* saith, that as the end of the Saylor's endeour, is good passage; the Physicians trauell tendeth to health; and the captaynes labour to victorie: so the happy life of subiectes, their wealth, their glory and vertue, ought to be the endeour of our Counsellor; and from him, as one amongst the rest, of most singularity and perfection, the same proceedeth. We shall now therefore discourse, what foundation of great wisdom hath, and what exercises, knowledge and vertue ought to be in a Counsellor: which being known, the waies and degrees, wherby he may attayne to so excellent qualities, shall be the more easie. For as much as the foundation, and roote of euery commonweale, is the inhabitants thereof, we will first about all thinges determine

VWhereof the
Senators be
so named.

The dutie of
Senators.

The Coun-
cellor must
be of naturall
birth.

The loue of
our country
naturall.

determine, that our Councillor shall be naturally borne within that state where he gouerneth. Because that birth and being, doth not onely binde him, but also leade him to beleue, it is honourable, iust and necessary, to spend his blood in defence of his country: for the onely loue which men doe beare vnto their country, doth exceede all other pietie. And how is it possible that any man should not loue that country, wherein he hath his parentes, his children, his neighbours and friends; and that which hath freely giuen him life, name, and honour, with eue-ry other thing requirable, eyther for delight or necessity? Surely Nature hath so deeply and firmly planted in the mindes of men the loue to their country, as neuer any good subiect did feare, at necessary occasions, to aduenture his life. Yea we haue found the force therof to haue beene such, as euen the wicked and most vnnaturall subiectes, attempting the subuersion of their country, at the onely sight of their naturall soyle, haue stayed their handes from performing so wicked an enterprise. Did not *Veturia* dissuade her sonne *Martius* beseging *Rome*? only by reducing to his memory, the loue he ought to haue vnto his naturall country, calling him impious and audacious, for daring to disturb that Citie wherein he was begotten and bred, forgetting that within the walls thereof his mother, wife, children, famelic and friendes liued? Greate was the loue of *Veturia* towards her country, and no lesse was the pietie of *Martius* in pardoning his country: which through the cruelty of the *Tribunes*, at that time persecuting the Nobilitie, had beene to him vnthankfull. *Sertorius* in like manner desired *Pompeius* and *Mellus* to procure his reuocation, saying, he desired rather to be called an obscure Citizen of *Rome*, then else where an Emperour. Therefore *Ouidius Naso* the Poet saith truly.

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctas

Ducit, & immemores non sinit esse sui.

Great is the obligation which bindeth vs to our country, whereunto our goods and persons are (as it were) impawned. *Pythagoras* (as *Plato* saith) beeing asked in what sorte a man shoulde be vngratefull to to country, answered, as to his mother, because all iniuries are to be pardoned for our countries sake: neyther is there anye offence so greate, which the loue of our country ought not delaye and diminish.

diminish. Let our Councillor therefore be a subiect naturally borne, such no man of forraine birth ought be preferred to that dignitie, because the Councell of strangers, is accounted suspicious, perilous and dangerous. The *Athenians* therefore did not onely seclude all strangers from their Councels, but also suffered them not to dwell within their Citie: leaste by such meanes they might aspyre vnto the magistracie, and induce the Citizens mindes to innouation, whereby change of lawes, customes, manners and seditions might growe. Which manner of proceeding, we see the *Venetians* haue carefully obserued. For among them greate heed is taken, least anye vnder false title, shoulde intrude himselfe into that number, which is capable of the gouernment. Whereby all forenners and strangers bee vtterly excluded. But happelye it may seeme considerable, who those are which ought be called Citizens. This worde Citizen, hath bene aswell among Phylosophers as lawe-makers, diuerselye defined. Some haue called the whole number of Inhabitantes by the name of Citizens. Others, onely those that are descended of Noble and free Citizens. Others haue called them Citizens, who haue one of their parentes free borne within the Citie. And some woulde that the Citizen shoulde fetch his Pedigree from his ancient grandfathers. Some doe also thinke that strangers receiued into the societie of Citizens and naturallized, shoulde be called Citizens. *Aristotle* doth call them by the name of Citizens; that are capable of the offices in the state, and are descended of free and honest parentage. Surelye the opinion of euerye of these touching the name of Citizen is not to be thought strange, seeing that custome and lawe doth in euerye place giue direction what is to be done, framing their reasons according to the qualitie of the state wherein they liue. In popular states all they are commonly called Citizens that doe inhabite the Citie, aswell poore as rich, bad as good, wise as learned, not beeing bonde men, for euerye one is capable of the gouernment, and liue all in one equalitie. Of this nature was the *Athenian* commonweale, so long as it was popularlye gouerned, and in our dayes the *Cantons* of *Switzerlande* doe obserue the same customes. Diuers other cities in *Germanie* are called free, where the inhabitantes doe liue popularly, se- cluded from gentlemen & noble citizens. In *Monarchies*, & *Aristocracies* those

Strangers sus-
pected in the
comonweale.

What a Citi-
zen is.

Who is called
a Citizen in
states popu-
lar.

Who is called
a Citizen, in
A Monarchie,

or an Aristoc-
ratic.

Whereof the
king is called
Rex.

Who is a Ci-
tizen in an
Oligarchia.

Who weare
Citizens in
Rome.

those are named Citizens that liue according to vertue. And in the one, onely good and vertuous men doe exercise the gouernment, and in the other, one alone for bounty excelling the rest doth commaund all, who eyther a *regendo*, or *recte agendo*, is called *Rex*. Those people which are naturally slaues or wicked, doe for the most part obey Tyrants, and that gouernment is called *Imperium despoticum*, because they gouerne by will without lawe. Such people are seruile, barbarous, and without vertue or honour. Yet are not they to be accounted slaues, that be oppressed with power, ambition and couetousnesse of Tyrants, if that therewith they be not base minded and vitious. For we may read of many such, that haue reuenged the seruitude, both of their owne persons, and of their country, by sleying or expelling the Tyrants, or not being able so to doe, haue chosen rather to loose their liues then their liberty: as in *Rome*, *Brutus*, *Cato*, and many other had done. In an *Oligarchia*, because men are chiefly respected for their riches, they who are most welthy will onely be reputed Citizens; which kinde of men ought be holden dishonourable, because they are carelesse of all vertue, and studie for nothing else, then how to become rich by what meane soeuer, to the ende, that not as wise and vertuous, but as rich men, they may aspyre to the offices and honours in the commonweale. Among the *Romans*, there were diuers kindes of Citizens: for some were called, *Municipes*, some *Coloni*, and some *Latini*, euery one retayning those conditions that were granted them by the people of *Rome*, some were free, some confederate, and some stipendarie. Some were made Citizens *pleno iure*, which was by consent of voyces, and they were capable of all honours: or *Iure honorario*, which were they, that were onely admitted into the Citie without suffrage, and for honours sake called Citizens, as were the *Campani* and *Equiti*. Hee was also accounted a Citizen of *Rome*, whose name was written in the *Censors* booke, and was an householder in *Rome*. By these thinges we haue sayde, it appeareth, that in all commonweales those are properly called Citizens, that in their Citie haue right to beare office, and giue suffrage in the state, which priueledge who so wanteth, is rather to be called an Inhabitant or Clyant, then a Citizen. In other thinges requisite to the perefction of a Citizen, as vertue, naturall byrth, riches, and Nobilitie; the custome and lawe of euery state, is to be obserued

observed. Of all these we will onely allowe of two sortes, the one Noble, the other plebeiall. For euery Citie consisteth of the people, and the multitude; within the name of people (as *Cains* the Doctor writeth) all principall Citizens, Noblemen, Senators and Gentlemen are con-
 teyned. The worde plebeiall, includeth the rest of the inhabitants, and others that haue beeing within the state. So as the one sort ought be called Citizens properly, and the other so termed by imitation and courtesie. But our Councellor shall be of the number of noble and free Citizens. A noble Citizen taketh his title of that nobilitie which hath the originall of vertue, which is partlie his owne, and partlie as or-
 mified and increased by the vertues and riches of his ancestors. They therefore, that aswell by their owne as their ancestors vertue be made noble, are to be preferred, honoured and reuerenced before others, because of good parents good children are begotten: as the Poet saith.

Two sortes of Citizens.

The Councellor must be of the number of Noble Citizens.

Fortes fortibus creantur & bonis,

Est in iumentis, est in equis patriæ

Virtus, nec imbellam feroces

Progenerant aquile columbam.

To the perfection of a Noble Citizen (as *Aristotle* saith) three things are chiefly required; good parentage, riches, and vertue. Who so possesseth all those, wanteth nothing appertayning to true and perfect nobilitie; and such men were euer wonte to be called most Noble Citizens. But because it seldome happeneth that one man can be owner of them all, vertue alone doth challenge, (as her right) power to make men noble. Touching riches and honour of ancestors, as they doe ornifie Nobilitie, so doe they greatly disgrace the beautie thereof in those, that liue not vertuously. For such men doe make the name of their ancestors obscure, and through the vices of their posteritie, they become vtterly vnknowne. It is therefore better (as *Tullius* saith) to be noble by a mans owne vertue, then by the opinion conceiued of his ancestors, because the beginner of Nobilitie is most praise worthy. Who so is descended from Noble parentes, doth deserue vndoubtedly to be commended and honoured, so that he doth endeouour himselfe to equall, or excell the glorious actes and vertue of his ancestors. And who would not greatly commend them

To the perfection of a Noble Citizen three things required.

Nobilitie for vertue.

Nobilitie by descent.

The Rhodian
lawe.

them for so doing, declaring themselves thereby thankfull towards their ancestors, by not burying the same of the dead, and increasing the same by their owne vertue yet liuing? The lawe of the *Rhodians* seemeth commendable, for thereby it was enacted, that those sonnes which followed not their fathers vertue, but liued vitiously, should be disinherited, and their landes giuen to the most vertuous of that rase, not admitting any impious heire whatsoever. It is an office of our faith and pietie, to leaue vnto the posteritie of men, a declaration howe mindfull and thankfull we are towards our ancestors, whose heirs we are; not onely of their worldly goods, but of their vertue, glorie, faith, & religion; which is the true inheritance, and may indeed be called the true possessions. For it is not a Hall painted full of proude Armes or badges, but vertue which maketh a man Noble. As *Iuuenall* saith.

*Tota licet veteres exornent undique ceræ
Atria, nobilitas sola est at, que unica virtus.*

For where soeuer vertue abideth, in all estates the same is more praise worthy then fortune, because it refuseth no man, but may be by euery one embraced. *Cleantes* was a poore water drawer: and vertue found not *Plato* a noble man, but made him noble. We could also tell, that of diuers bond-men, kinges haue beene descended; and of kinges of spring, some haue become bond-men: such variety long tract of time bringeth, and fortune turneth all thinges vpside downe. Was not *Agathocles* from a potter aduanced to be a king? what was *Romulus*, *Tullius Hostilius*, *Tarquinius Priscus*, and all the progeny of *Romanes*? whereof *Iuuenall* writeth thus.

*Et tamen vt longè repetas longè que reuoluas,
Nomen ab infami gentem deducis Asylo.*

Who is therefore a Gentleman? he that by nature is made vertuous. If any goodnes be in nobilitie, it is as *Boetius* thinketh, a certaine necessity imposed vppon Gentlemen, that they should not degenerate from their ancestors. Moreouer, as the exercise of our qualities and actions are diuers, so are the degrees of Nobility proceeding of vertue, likewise diuers. The Nobility of priuate men, and all such as
liue

live in contemplation, may be called Philosophicall nobilitie, but the same in those, that eyther gaine glory by counselling the commonweale wisely, or that shew themselves valiant in the warre of their country, is called ciuill nobility. The force of this nobilitie extendeth to all posterity, and the memory thereof to be recorded by portratures, badges and monuments, wherewith men are incited to imitate and honour the vertue of their ancestors. For the badges of nobility doe represent nothing else, but the title or claime to nobilitie, and is a monument of ancient vertue and dignitie; wherewith we are (as by a pledge of honest life) bound to follow the ancient vertue and actions of our forefathers. As in euery commonweale, there is two times, the one of peace, the other of warre, so be the noble Citizens of two sorts: the one for warre, the other apt for peace. The first of them by Armes doe enlarge, or at the least defend the confines of our country, the the second with counsell and wisdom doth gouerne and preferue it. They ought therefore be mixed, to the ende the commonweale may receiue the more profit. For in all things consultable, action followeth Counsell, which was the respect, those men whose counsell in time of peace, gouerned the commonweale wisely, peaceable and happilie, were preferred before them, that eyther defended or enlarged the same by armes. For as the soule is more worthy then the bodie, and peace more precious then warre, so is the one sort of men to be preferred before the other. Homer induceth *Agamemnon* saying, he coulde more easely surprise *Troy*, with the Counsell of ten *Nestors* or *Vlisses*, then with the force of twise so many *Ataci* or *Achilli*. *Pirrhus* was also wont to say, the eloquence of *Cyneas* had conquered more Cities, then he with all his soldiers. But who excelleth both in wisdom and martiall knowledge, is deseruingly aboue all others to be esteemed and honoured. For who so possesseth most vertue is to be reputed most worthie and honourable. We will therefore that our Councillor shall not onely be a good Citizen, but also a good man. For the vertue of a good man differeth from the vertue of a good Citizen, in that the one vseth all vertues agreeable to honest life, the other obserueth onely the lawes made for preferuation of ciuill commoditie. And as sometimes we see a cunning Artizan an euill man, so a good Citizen in seruice of the state, may be politique, diligent, and stout, yet otherwise iniust, intemperate, and cowardly. It is saide that *Iulius Caesar* was such a one;

Nobilitie
ciuill.

Badges and
Armes of
Nobilitie.

Consultation
to be preferred
before
action.

The vertue
of a good Ci-
tizen, and the
vertue of a
good man,
is diuers

because his manner of life was not vnfit for a good man, yet such as did differ from the qualitie of a good Citizen. But we will that our Senator shall be such a man as hath beene described.

The felicitie
of common-
weales and
men, as one
thing.

By what
meanes the
commonweale
is made hap-
py.

By what
meane the
commonweale
is made wise.

By what
meane the
commonweale
is valiant.

The office of
Soldiers.

Those commonweales haue euer beene accounted fortunate and happy, wherein the subiectes be also blessed. For euerie Citie is such as are the manners of the Citizens. The felicitie of men and commonweales doth seeme to spring from one fountaine, from one selfe cause, and through vertue they doe become both happy. Yet all states and men are not onely happy by the benefit of vertue, but doe also neede the ayde of fortune. For that state onely is happy, which is good. It behoueth therefore, that therein be the goods of minde, the goods of bodie, and riches. The goods of minde are gained by vertue, by ayde whereof onely, the Citie is wise, strong, temperate and iust. That state is wise, which is indued with wise and good Counsell, vnderstanding what belongeth to knowledge and learning: which wisdom or knowledge, cannot be in base people and men mechanicall, but in ciuill persons destined to honour and vertue: as Princes, Councillors, Iudges, generals and gouernours: in respect of whome the state is called wise. For if those sortes of men be foolish, vnexpert and vnlearned, the same doth cause the whole commonweale to be vaine and simple. The valor of the state consisteth in Captaines and Soldiers, whose industrie, courage and expertnes in causes militarie, doth make the commonweale valiant. Such men be formidable to foes, and defende the commonweale from dangers, whereby it becommeth assured and quiet. It greatly behoueth euery state to haue expert and well trained soldiers, whereby the same continueth quiet from terrors and tumults. It is therefore necessary, that in time of peace the vse of Armes be not discontinued, and that soldiers be exercised for vertue and not for violence. For to employ Armes against friendes, or the commonweale, seemeth not onely the part of a bad soldier, but also of an euill man. Wherefore the chiefe vertue of a soldier ought be, to shew himselfe towards those of his owne conuntry, modest, courteous and mercifull, and towards enemies, fierce, couragious, and cruell. For while furie of warre raigneth, and enemies doe assault subiectes, into their handes, the common welfare, religion, fidelitie and liberty of the commonweale is committed: because they onely doe support the liues and goods of all other subiectes. Euery soldier then that deserueth to be called a defender
of

of his country, doth know, his delight ought not to be in pleasure, idlenes, or domesticall delicacie, but Armes, weapons, lances, labour and sweat. A soldier ought also to auoyde, priuate quarrell and factious enterprises; neyther shall he entermiddle with ciuill conspiracy or rebellion, but at all times be carefull to withstand the perils attempted against his country. Doest thou delight to hunt the Bucke, the Boare, the Beare and Hare? or take pleasure to teach thy Dogs to kill them? why shouldest thou not likewise studie to assault Castles, leade soldiers, and vanquish thine enemy? If in these things thou be ignorant, and care onely to fill thine owne paunch, then thou makest warre with sauage beastes onely, and liest in waite for thy neighbours goods or life, whereby certainly thou liuest a seditious, ignoble and idle life; not worthy to be called a soldier, but a sluggard; not a Gentleman, but a Iugler; and therefore as a slaue, vnworthy thy dignitie we doe repute thee. Is the warre proclaimed? then must thou without delaie be readie, least in long thinking what pay is prepared for thee, thy enemy hath fraught himselfe with spoyles, and is escaped, wherby thy country shall afterwarde too late lamente thy slooth. It is therefore more profitable spedely to take armes, then with long musing to marre all. But happely no wages is giuen, what then? wilt thou rather sell thy seruice, or giue it to thy country; which hath giuen thee life, honour, riches, with all other things, in hope of this onely duetie, that thou shouldest hold it most deere, and as a faithfull and voluntary soldier freely defend it. God forbid thou shouldest thinke, that thy vertue were to be made Noble with money, or that thou would be called rather a couetous soldier, then a true seruant to thy country. Be perswaded that the duetie of a soldier is, to know howe to handle Armes and be fit for the warre, to liue iustly and equally with other subiectes, not offending their quiet or reputation. For if thou fight for peace, hauing peace, why doest thou make warre at home? Certainly it standerth the commonweale vpon, to prouide by lawe, that soldiers may be compelled to honest life, and feared from offending others: For there is nothing more terrible, then iniurie armed. The boldnes of soldiers not bridled by lawe, doth passe on so farre forward, as may eyther subuert the state, or inforce the good and modest subiectes, yea iustice it selfe to obey Armes; which we read heeretofore happened among the *Romaines*, where the soldiers for diuers yeares hauing

authoritie to chooſe the Emperours, vſurped the State, when neyther the Senate, the people, nor the lawe, coulde by any meanes reſiſt their inſolency. But of ſoldiers we haue perhappes to long diſcourſed.

By what
meanes the
commonweale
is made tem-
perate & iuſt.

That commonweale is temperate and iuſt, where the Prince and Citizens therein doe liue temperately & iuſtly, which things are brought to paſſe by the execution of lawes. For they onely are the directors aſwell of life as honeſt liuing. From this fountaine are ſprong lawes to reforme ſuperfluitie in building, apparrell, and feſting, with all others apertaining to exceſſe. Alſo from temperancie, other ordinances doe proceed belonging to iudgements: whereof the foundation, is iuſtice: a vertue, giuing to euery man that which is his owne. As touching the goods of body and fortune, they ſhall be plentiful in thoſe commonweales, where the ſubiectes be healthie, ſtrong, valiant, rich, honourable and glorious. Of all which things, in the ende of this worke we will more at large entreate. Thus haue we alreadie diſcourſed what a commonweale is, and wherein the felicitie thereof conſiſteth. It remaineth now to ſpeake of the Citizens happie life; whereby ſhall be conceiued, in what artes and ſciences our Counſellor ought be inſtructed to enioy both priuate and publique felicitie. To the perfection of man three things (as the Philoſopher affirmeth) are required, that is to ſay, Nature, Cuſtome, and Reason. As touching Nature: to be thereby good and happy, it reſteth not in our power, but in the gift of God. For whomſoeuer he bleſſeth, is by the inſtinct of Nature good, wiſe, and of perfect iudgement. It many times alſo happeneth, that as one man begetteth another, & one beaſt another, ſo of wiſe and good anceſtors, wiſe & good poſterity doth deſcend, which nature alwaies induoreth to bring to paſſe, but not therein preuailing, appeareth how corruptible our nature is, either through education, or (to ſpeak in Chriſtian wiſe) through the ſin of our forefathers, who the bad Angel diuerted & corrupted. Wherefore nature hath only left in vs certain ſparks, wherewith to kindle our inclination to vertue & become apt for all things, the reſt is performed by reaſon, art, & uſe. It behoueth man therefore to cleaue faſt vnto that nature (which is good) & at his hand deſire felicity & perfection. The chiefe duty of man, is to know that his originall proceedeth from God, & from him to haue received reaſon, wherby he reſembleth his maker. But for that the reaſon of man is ſhut vp within the body, as a priſon, wherby it knoweth not it ſelf;

By what
meanes the
commonweale
is made
ſtrong and
fortunate.

To the perfe-
ction of man
three things
required.

The office of
man.

It

It behoueth the minde to breake forth from that place of reſtrainte and winne libertie, whereby it may behold, know and perceiue, howe much it reſembleth God. For man is moſt properly ſo called, when he liueth according to that part of the minde which is partaker of reaſon, and is furtheſt remoued from pleaſing & obedience of the bodie. Learning therefore is to be deſired of men, ſith thereby reaſon and the perfection thereof is chiefly obtained. For as nature, vnleſſe it be perfect, wanteth her good, ſo the good of man is not abſolute, vnleſſe therein be perfect reaſon: which being in man is called God, Nature, Lawe, Vertue and goodnes. Whereupon may be inferred, that ſuch learning is requiſite, as bringeth with it vnderſtanding and knowledge of God, Nature, Lawes, Vertues and all good things. This learning is called Philoſophie, the eternall and immortall gift of God, inſtructing vs in the knowledge of all things both diuine and humane, and conteyneth the ſkill whereby to know, the beginning of vertue and vice, with the nature of all other things. So that, whoſoeuer ſhall (as in a glaſſe) looke therein, may ſee, the formes, the Images, and *Ideas* of euery thing, & ſhall well neere behold the counterſeit of his owne body and minde. It was therefore not without cauſe of *Cicero* called the vniuerſall knowledge, the guide of life, the ſercher of vertue, the expulſer of vice, the medicine and healk of the ſoule. For there is nothing in this worlde to be done or thought, eyther in Court or Iudgement, be it great or ſmall, which proceedeth not from Philoſophie as mother of all Counſels, actions and reſolutions; whom, if in all thy wordes and workes thou doeſt followe, whatſoeuer thou ſhalt ſpeake or doe, will be wiſe, diſcrete, diuine, and in all reſpects perfect. For in whatſoeuer commonweale, the Prince that raigneth is a Philoſopher, or counſelled by Philoſophers, there is ſeldome any warre, ſedition, hate, diſcord, or violence of euill men. But now me thinks, I heare ſome one ſaying; doeſt thou Sir Philoſopher think, that the felicitie of commonweales, and the wiſedome of Kings & Princes, doth proceede from thy laſie diſcipline? For that arte of thine is rather to be learned the ſcience of prauing, then a knowledge whereby men attaine vnto felicitie. How doeſt thou dare infect the commonweale with thoſe things, which will be the deſtruction thereof? and as thou haſt filled the ſcholes with contention and ſcoulding, ſo wilt thou deuide the ſtate into ſundrye ſeditions, which diſcorde in ſcholes may be without bloode diſputed, yet thinkeſt thou that

Wherein the perfection of man conſiſteth

By what ſtudies the perfection of man is attained
Philoſophie.

The profit that proceedeth of Philoſophie.

in a commonweale they can bee without blowes determined? Howe shall the happinesse of commonweales be conserued by Philosophers, whose opinions are diuers, doubtfull and contrarie? Whether shall our state trust vnto the *Epicure*, the *Peripateticke*, or the *Stoicke*? Who contend not onely for the confines, but the very possession of felicitie? And they that are not agreed what is the chiete good, do they not discent vpon the whole substance of Philosophy? For who so knoweth not what is the chiefe good, must of force be ignorant what course of life to leade. I doe therefore thinke, that the teachers of such doctrines (who trust onelic vnto Philosophie as the *Tabernacle* of their life,) are rather to be remoued, then receiued to gouerne the commonweale. For what doest thou thinke will be said or done, where Philosophers consulte of warre and peace, of lawes and iudgements? Surely they will imagine themselues to sit in Counsell of *Cyclops* and *Giantes*, and thinke Armes already in hande, so soone as they heare the warre consulted vpon. Is it reasonable that he shoulde be a lawe-maker, that obeyeth no lawe but that which he prescribeth to himselfe? vsing onely his owne reason, or rather his owne priuate opinion, accounting all others as beasts, himselfe onely excepted? Is not this the guise of your philosophicall flocke? What thinke ye of *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, *Epictetus* and many others? would you wish such wise men to be Princes and Gouvernors of the commonweale? Whereunto may be answered. There are two sortes of Philosophers, whome I thinke in deede vnfit to gouerne the commonweale. The first are they who haue scantlie tasted of Philosophie, whereby the thirsting heate of vices and desires, is not with vertue quenched: So as, those men doe leade a life diuers from the groundes of true Philosophie not yet well rooted in them. For the knowledge thereof doth make men no lesse good then learned, and by knowledge they become learned, and through Iustice, Temperance, and Fortitude, they are made perfect. Surely there is not any thing in Philosophie more notable, then the institutions and preceptes of vertue, whereof who so hath the vnderstanding, doth leade a happie and blessed life. An other sorte of Philosophers there is contrarie to these, who hauing in their youth learned Philosophie, doe (as it were) vnto the *Syrene* rockes cleaue thereunto, euen the whole course of their liues. Such kinde of contemplation

What kinde of
Philosophers
are vnfit to
gouerne.

templation and Philosophie which concerneth not the profit, nor ciuill affayres of men, is in truth improfitable for the state. For albeit those Philosophers be learned and wise, yet onely applying their thoughtes to Philosophie, not hauing experience of courte or ciuill affayres, are vtterly vsfitt for government. Therefore Plato commaundeth that those solitarie worshippers of wisdom, being by nature apt for action in the commonweale, shoulde be founde out, and compelled thereunto, thinking them fit to gouerne Cities, and appease the sedition of people. And touching the rest, which are not apte for that purpose, he suffereth them to enioy their rest, and were out their life in contemplation. Wherefore neyther they that be lightly learned, nor those that are become ouermuch in bondage to Philosophie, ought be admitted to gouerne the commonweale, because the one haue not by Philosophie attained anie ende of honest life whereunto to leane, and the other, being perswaded they haue a life much better then ciuill, doe passe their age solitarie (as they thinke) among rockes of the fortunate Ilandes. For there is not any life (as Plato writeth) which hath ciuill magistracie in more contempt, then that which is exercised in true Philosophie. The meane sort of Philosophers are therefore (in our iudgement) most fitt for government: because they doe not by the studie of Philosophie search deeper then the knowledge whereby men may attain to happie life, and become fit to gouerne the commonweale. To which kinde of Philosophie we exhorde our Counsellor. For thereby not onely the knowledge of humaine happines, but also the science of gouernment is attained. First we will that his nature be apt for philosophie, that is, temperate, docible, and iust: because there is no man that can well exercise himselfe therein, if naturally he be not of good memorie, docible, couragious, and loue of truth, iustice and temperancie, which disposition being bred onely by good education, it is necessary that from his childhoode he be so trained. The ground of all wisdom, Plato saith, is good education, for thereby as it were in sporte, we profit in all kindes of vertue. Men must therefore from their tender yeares be instructed to reioyce or be sorie for those things, which ought iustlie to glad them, or sad them. It is therefore a vertue to know how to reioyce, or to be sory, for such knowledge, as Aristotle thinketh, is true education. And as it behoueth a perfect comonweale

What Philosophers are fit for gouernment.

Good education the roote of wisdom.

The Com.
must be care-
full in the
education of
youth.

The Lacede-
monian edu-
cation.

The Romane
education.

to haue good subiectes whereby it may also become good, so ought there be great diligence in their education. For as a good husbandman diligently proyneth his plants, to make them grow the faster: So the commonweale which is the mother & house-wife of subiects, ought to be exceeding carefull for the education and vertuous instruction of young people. The *Lacedemonians* were wont for the education of their Citizens, to elect Magistrates among the number of their most ancient and graue Citizens, and them they called publique Tutors, for which respect, they were holden vertuous men in action, valiant and excellent in military discipline. It is written that *Diogenes* returning from *Sparta* to *Athens*, was by the way asked from whence he came and whither he went: Whereunto he answered, he came from men, and was going to women, noting thereby the effeminacie of the *Athenians*, who were for that vice, by the *Lacedemonians* and the other *Grecians* mocked to scorne. Vpon which occasion, *Agefilaus* then King of *Sparta*, hearing an *Athenian* boasting the thicknes of *Athens* walles, saide, that the same did well become them, because high walles were wont to be built for women. But let vs returne to education, whereof in these daies to small care is taken: for children, are neyther by their fathers taught any liberall or honest science, nor committed to the tuition of any skilfull instructers. I cannot therefore but commend the diligence of *Cato* in the nurture of his sonne, for he disdained not to be present, and looke vpon his wife, at such time as she washed and swathed his young children, and so soone as yeares had abled them for learning, he tooke them into his owne tuition, and taught them. At that time he kept *Chylo* the Grammarian in his house to instruct children, who was indeed learned, yet thought he not fitt that *Chylo* being a seruant should correct his sonne, and when he erred pull him by the eares, also he disdayned to be beholding to a scholemaster for the education of his sonne. Hee therefore himselfe did teach his sonne learning, lawes and manners, and likewise instructed him howe to darre, to handle weapons, ride, swime, and suffer heate and colde. It is saide moreouer, that with his owne hande he wrote an Historie, and gaue it to his sonne, to the ende he might therein see the Actes of his ancestors, and learne the skill howe to gouerne the commonweale. In his sonnes presence he neuer vttered any vncleane, foule, or angrie speech, but vsed so great respect, as if the *vestall* virgins, or Priests had looked on him. Such was the domesticall

domesticall discipline of *Cato*, and the most of the *Romanes*, in education of their children. The Philosophers in *Gracia* made plaies for the instruction of young men: which discipline, eternall memory hath preserved till these our daies. From them is also come the vnderstanding of vertue and knowledge, which we haue taken by tradition. Those Philosophers were not onely Tutors of good and happy life, but also teachers of ciuill gouernment. Yea this present age, hath (according to the *Gracian* custome) vniuersities, which are as Seminaries of learning and vertue. Thither young men (as vnto a haruest of good science,) may daily resort, and gather the fruites of good discipline and vertue. Would God the Masters of those schooles, wolde frame the wittes of young men there, rather to liue well, then dispute well: for happilie, so should they both of the commonweale and life of men deserue better, and their schollers not desire (as they say) rather to heare a Iester then a Philosopher. In ancient time Philosophers taught their pupils first to be silent, but now their chiefe instruction is to speake a pace, which breedeth so many prating Orators and witleffe Philosophers: For they studie not to fill their breastes with vertues and honest discipline, but teach their tongues plentie of wordes: So as, we see them commended of their teachers, for wrangling & strength of witt in argument, not for modesty, wisdom, and iustice. But all learned men ought know, that they should not keepe schooles for such drouisie and slouthfull Philosophy, but teach ciuill knowledge, the commendation whereof consisteth in well doing and thinking truely. The ancient *Academies* of *Gracia* were the nurseries of all commonweales, & out of them (as from the *Troian* horse) came forth most excellent kings, singular Captaines and gouernors. *Alexander* and *Scipio* (two most noble Chieftains) were brought vp in schooles. I omit many others. Thus it appeareth, that men ought to be trained in schooles, and there to learne honest life & the skill of gouernment. Also euery state should be carefull to haue schooles, as shops filled with all sorts of vertue. In such a one therfore as shall become a Counsellor, we wish good nature, & education. For that being euill, is not only to be bettred by Philosophy, but becōmeth much the worse: for mans nature is most prone to euil, & being strengthened & instructed with sciēce & Philosophy, gaineth therby more force & skil to do euill: sith the best knowledges possessed by a mā of peruerse nature, are depaured, & chāged into a cōtrary dispositiō, wherof euill cōūsel procedeth.

The education of *Gracia*

The office of learned men.

The

The cogitations of an angrie minde in an euill man, doe increase furie : which is the cause, that a subtrill spirit moued to coller, is conuerted into madnes. It may then be concluded, that a good nature euill instructed, becommeth worst of all, and euill nature well instructed, is also oftentimes abused and imployed in wicked actions. For euery good euill vsed, becommeth worse then euill it selfe : not vnlike to good seedes sowed in euill soyle, which do for the most part change their nature. Great is the force of education, which changeth, and rechangeth the tender mind of youth, as well to good as euill. *Diogenes* being asked, how man might lead a quiet life, answered. First he must honour the Gods, who are the makers of all felicitie: Secondly, he must bring vp his children in vertue, for being euill instructed, they become the greatest enemies to their aged fathers : Thirdly, he must be thankefull towards his friends. The saying of *Apollo* is true, that the vnthankfull man is most hurtfull, and odious to the whole world, Moreouer, it behoueth for the better institution of children, that they be instructed in the propertie of speach, eloquence, and knowledge of the truth, whereunto he attaineth by the sciences of Grammer, Rhetorike, and Logike. For these knowledges, are as it were gates and entries of wisdom. From them he may receiue the rules of speaking, which are confirmed by vse, domesticall exercise, and the reading of antient Poets and Orators. For being instructed in these, he will leaue the cogitation of common and knowen things, and call vnto his consideration matters of more importance. Because the minde beginning to know it selfe, doth then seeke for true foode, wherof to feede and be satisfied. The true foode and medicine of the mind is Philosophie, because it healeth all sortes of sicknes and sorrowes therein, making a perfect path vnto happines, and by vertue therof, our mindes are stirred to more worthy cogitations. The reason therof is, that the mind abandoneth the bodie and all terrestrial thoughts, and studieth vpon things high and coelestial.

This knowledge of Philosophie is of two sortes, the one consisteth in the subtiltie of nature & is subiect to the vniuersall contemplation of the whole world: the other sheweth the true institution of mans life, & manners, how commonweals should be gouerned, and priuate houldes maintained. To the first appertaineth these parts of Philosophie, called *Physica*, *Metaphysica*, and *Mathematica*, & to the other; *Ethica*, *Politica*, and *Oeconomica*. The end of both those knowledges is not diuers. For as by the

contem-

Education of
children.

Philosophy
two kinds.

contemplation of things diuine; the mind disioyned from the body, by it selfe is made blessed & like vnto God. So doth it come to passe in honest actions, that reason being garded by vertue, doth withhold the minde from the vncleane actions of the corrupt body. The minde by these two meanes disseuered from the body, becommeth like vnto God, and may iustly be accounted happy & blessed. In this onely, those two knowledges doe differ: that the one by action, the other by contemplation representeth the similitude of God. Wherof a double felicity followeth, the one priuate, the other publique. Those that put their felicity in the exercise & action of vertue, are at all times most profitable for the cōmonweale, & that which is good, the more cōmon it be, the better & more profitable it is accounted: So that felicity wherby many receiue benefit, is reputed better then that, which is contained in one only head. Yet must we confesse, that the contemplatiue felicity, hath the precedence & more noble place, because it sheweth the causes & occasiō of all things to be done. God also without action, by his perpetuall contēplation, forseeing all things, doth by his example, moue Philosophers to prefer the contēplation of things diuine, before all humaine action & felicity. Now forsomuch as, the felicity of euery Counsellor, & all knowledge consisteth in action, to the end he be not ignorāt what is the best course of good & honest life, what is required in the administration of matters both priuate & publique, & may know how to gouerne people; ordaine lawes & correct iudgments, it behoueth him to be studied in that part of Philosophy, which cōtaineth the rules of mens actions, & the science of gouernēt. Let him therfore be perfectly instructed of that part which intreateth of māners, wherby he may attaine the skill, not only of life, but also of well liuing & counselling. For how should he speake of mans life agreeable to vertue, that knoweth not what vertue is? Or what discourse can such a one make in Counsell touching iustice, fortitude, tēperancie, or wisdom? How should he appease seditions, or qualesie laws, vnles he partly knoweth the precepts of iustice & prudence? What counsell can any wise man giue of war, peace or contracts? if he be ignorant what war is iust & vniust, what honorable or dishonorable peace, what treaties are godly & what vngodly? For all the precepts & force of honesty & vertue ought be to him knowē, not only by name but in mind exactly cōceiued. The sume of which knowledge, in the booke of *Ethicks*, *Politicks* & *Oeconomicks* is cōtained. Frō thē as treasure houses, he may take the knowledge of vertues, the skil of gouernment, the maners

Two kindes
of felicity.

What Philos-
ophy is fittest
for a Coun-
teller.

of

The know-
ledge of
histories.

Politieall
knowledge.

of men, and the order of domesticall life. Moreouer that discipline shall furnish him with knowledge, whereby to iudge of all things, and informe him, what is in euery thing honest, and what the contrarie. It behoueth him besides these, to know and consider deeply, the notable sayings and actes of men that heretofore haue liued. Which things are not so plentifully found any where, as in the monuments of Annales and histories. This was the cause that *Tullius* called an historie, the witnesse of time, the light of trueth, the memoriall of life, and the report of antiquitie. For can any man describe better the vertue of fortitude, Iustice, continencie, frugality, and contempt of paines and death, then the actes of the *Corneli*, *Valerii*, *Fabritii*, *Curii*, *Decii*, and *Mutii*? what may likewise be said of our owne countrimen? was there not singular vertue in the *Leskies*, *Praestes*, *Boleslias*, & *Iageloneys*. This knowledge is not onely to be gathered frō late & present times, but from the memorie of all posteritie, honest life, & acts most praiseable. From thence he may draw the precepts of ciuill knowledge, & the imitatio of vertues and valiant actions. He ought also to knowe all those thinges, which appertaine to the vse of subiectes and professions of men. What accidents doe happen in mans life, in the commonweale, in ciuill societies, in the common humors of men, in their natures and manners. It is also more then necessary, that our Senator be perfect in all ordinances, concerning warre, peace, prouisions, the qualitie of subiectes, the administration of the state, and natures of men, knowing also those things, wherwith their mindes be exalted or deiected, what vertue is, what ought be the discipline of youth, what the education of subiectes, what customes should be confirmed, what honour belongeth to God and religion. Besides those, let him not be vtterly ignorant, in tractes, leagues, and aliences with other Princes and Potentates. For we see all these things laid before the eyes of men, and daily vsed in their proceedings and in Court. And it were very vnseemely, that a Counsellor should be a stranger in customes of state, in examples, in lawes, and the disposition of that people he gouerneth, It seemeth therefore that *Antonius* hath well described a Gouernour or Councillor saying, he should be such a man as vnderstandeth, by what meanes the commonweale is pro fited or enlarged, and at occasions to vse them. For (saith he) such were in Rome the *Lentuli*, *Gracchi*, *Metelli*, *Scipioni* and *Lelii*. In this our age, there are many, that aspyre to offices of state, without sufficiency

sufficiencie, without knowledge, and without wisdom. And if any man seemeth sufficient for Counsell, the cause thereof is, eyther one yeares experience in warre, practise in the lawe, riches, or domesticall authoritie: but in all good and honest sciences, and in the knowledge of vertue, they are vtterly ignorant. And in mine opinion, no Counsellor deserueth true commendation, who knoweth not, or wanteth will to thinke well, and doe iustly. For it were vnseemely, that he shoulde sweare others to the execution of lawe, vnlesse himselfe be a man for high Wisdom and Counsell most perfect: because he ought be iust, indifferent, and praise worthy: which proceedeth from vertue, lawe, and perfect reason. All wisdom doth assuredly come from the knowledge of thinges, which vnlesse man attaineth vnto by experience in great matters & learning, he shall neuer think, speake, or doe any thing worthy a Counsellor or wise man. A greate part also of wisdom required in a Counsellor, consisteth in the knowledge of manners, lawes and customes of diuers nations, which is best attained vnto by forraine trauell, as *Homer* writeth of *Vlisses*.

Trauell in
forraine na-
tions.

*Dic mihi Musa virum capta post tempora Troia
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes.*

But in traueilling, great respect ought be vsed, to learne those man-
ners and forraine customes which are honest, eschewing others, that be
euill and vngodly. The trauellor shall likewise carefully enforme him-
selfe, what lawes, iurisdicions, liberty, what order of life, what disci-
pline of warre, what ciuill gouernment, what domesticall life is in eu-
erie nation vsed. He shall also note the scite of euery region, the buil-
ding of Cities, their fortification and munition. Let him also vnder-
stand the vertue of each Prince, and how their people are effected to-
wardes them, the wisdom of their senate, the forme of their iudge-
ments, the nature and wit of the people, what vertues they delight in,
what vices they follow, what learned men, wise men, soldiers and chief-
taines are in euery country to be found. Many other things there are
which a man of iudgement can well discouer and report: so as if the vse
of them be necessary in his country, they may be obserued and exerci-
sed. Neuertheless greate heede must be taken, that by vsing forraine
fashions, our countrimen be not made new-fangled, effeminate, or care-
lesse

What to be
observed in
trauell.

lesse of their owne ancient vertue, customes or lawes: for the nature of
 base people, is desirous of nouelties, which being pernicious, may
 greatly molest the commonweale. Such things therefore as are honest,
 agreeable with the nature of our country people, profitable for the state,
 or not contrary to the earth and ayre where we liue, may be receiued
 from forraine Nations: for such fruites of trauell, and no other ought
 be commended. Many most notable men haue taken pleasure in trauell:
 as *Nestor*, *Menelaus*, and *Alexander* the great. The words which *Diodo-
 rus Siculus* reporteth to be written vpon the tombe of *Osiris* are right no-
 table, contayning this effect. *Osiris rex sum, Saturni antiquior filius, qui
 nullum orbis locum reliqui, quem non attigerim, discens ea omnia, que generi
 humano utilia sunt & necessaria.* But if he wanteth meanes to trauell, let
 him reade histories, *Geography* and *Cosmography*, indeuoring himselfe to
 know all things. We thinke also very conuenient, that he haue some
 taste of naturall Philosophy, but to consume much labour in that study,
 we account superfluous. For among the manifold actions of mans life,
 it is lawfull to be ignorant in somwhat. The field of knowledge is imme-
 surable and infinite, which was the cause that men applied themselues
 to particular studies, as impossible for one man to excell in all. And for
 so much as things to be knowen, are of three sortes: that is to say pro-
 fitable, pleasant, and honest; the knowledge of things pleasant and ho-
 nest, is not for gouernment of the state so necessary, as to him that know-
 eth them, sweete and contenting. Yet is such science very fit to recreate
 the minde of him that is wearied with hearing, thinking, & consulting
 of causes concerning the commonweale. At which times, knowing how
 to entertaine himselfe, it will greatly content him. This kind of Philoso-
 phie therefore is very profitable in the commonweale, chiefly if those
 that be therein learned, doe leade a ciuill life, being conuersant with
 other Citizens, and not lurking within their priuate houses or solitarie
 places. Neuerthelesse if eyther for lacke of health, or other impediment
 they be knowen vnfit for the gouernment, then doe we permit them to
 liue according to their owne nature, powring oyle vpon their heads
 & crowning them with wooll, & dismisse them to their studies, schooles,
 and caues of contemplation. This kinde of Philosophie although
 it be priuate, yet may it greatly profit the commonweale. For they
 are not onelye to bee allowed whose knowledge doth gouerne
 the state, but those also that in writinge doe leaue eternall
 Monumentes

Osiri.

Geogra-
phy and Cos-
mography.

Things to be
known of
three sortes.

In what sorte
priuate Phi-
losophers be
profitable.

Monumentes of their wisdom, or that by their precepts doe instruct others in vertue and the knowledge of gouernment. For out of their bookes we gather many thinges touching the lawes, customes, and felicity of the commonweale, so that their studious quiet, seemeth greatly to aide our action. Such kinde of men were *Theophrastus*, *Heraclides Ponticus*, *Dicaearchus*, *Socrates* and *Pithagoras*. The schollers of *Dicaearchus* wrote a booke of the commonweale, requiring, the same might euery yeare be publicquely reade in *Sparta*, and commaunded that all the youth of that Citie shoulde be at the reading present. The preceptes of Philosophie are to bring vertue and knowledge into the mindes of men, and not to maintaine disputation and contentions. For in my iudgement, all strife, wrangling, anger, and euill speech, are things vnworthy of Philosophie, and I holde him vnwise that thinketh Philosophie to consist in wordes. For constancie, felicitie, and honestie, are in deede the true Philosophie, because the other sciences are not vertues, but the instrumentes and ornamentes of vertue. Neyther doe I thinke it good, that the mindes of men shoulde be drawn into sectes. Wherefore first we will vtterly extirpe all *Epicurisme* out of our mindes, because that knowledge supported of sensuall pleasure, ought not to be in him, whome we seeke and desire shoulde be a Cheistiane in publique Counsell and gouernment. With the *Stoickes* I finde no faulte, yet doe I thinke them worthis to be dismissed, as vnfit for the companie of our Counsellor. Because (as *Cicero* saith) they affirme onely Philosophers to be wise, and all others to be theeues, enemies, barbarous and madde men. Neyther will they consent, that there is any wise man liuing. It were therefore absurde, to admit him a Counsellor, that thinketh no Counsellor to be wise, a Citizen, or a Free-man. Betwixt the sectes of *Stoickes* and *Peripatetickes* touching this *summum bonum* discention hath euer beene, but our intente is, to concurre with the *Peripatetickes*: because they are the more true Tutors of manners and vertue, and out of that famelie, perfect Citizens, Emperours, Kinges, and Philosophers (as out out of the *Troian* horse) haue issued. These most noble sciences and artes in a Senator, shall be greatlie beautified and graced by eloquence, which is is the true ornament of wisdom. For without that we see all other thinges (though commendable) are as it were drowned. An eloquent and excellent Oration,

Which is the true Philosophy.

Eloquence.

Knowledge
in lawe.

doth not onely recommend him from whome it proceedeth, but also many times through vertue thereof, both priuate and the publique welfare, is preserued. By eloquence angrie mindes are appeased, and quiet conceites are moued. Yet it sometimes commeth to passe, that through such perswasion the furie of foes is appawled. What-soeuer then the Counsellor doth speake, let the same be pronounced grauely, aduersedly, eloquently, redely and with comelie iecture. Next vnto eloquence, the knowledge of lawe is requirable in a Counsellor, the ende whereof is, in all thinges the iust conseruation of equitie. For who can more wisely decide causes and controuersies? who can better appease the sedition of subiectes, or more reasonably defende the lawes, customes, libertie, and rightes of the people, then he that is learned in lawe? For that seemeth true which is commonly saide, the house of a learned lawier, is the oracle of the Citie. *Antonius* therefore willet that the knowledge of him that professeth lawe shoulde be excellent, to the ende he may answere and defende euerie lawe and custome, belonging aswell to priuate persons as the publique commoditie. Yet will we not that our Senator shoulde be a pleader, a proctor, or aduocate. For those kindes of men being mercenarie, are oftentimes the ministers of falshood and iniustice, bearing about them, both mindes and tongues instructed & armed against iustice, and indeede it is harde for him to be a louer of iustice and trueth, that hath accustomed his tongue to talke for lucre. The office of a Counsellor shall be, to preserue the innocency of iudgementes from fraude, to punish euill and wicked Citizens, to defend and helpe good men without hope of rewarde, onely for loue to iustice: as we reade that in *Rome* diuers most noble and grace Senators haue done. But let vs speake of ciuill discipline and retorne to our purpose.

Ciuill discipline.

Ciuill discipline is nothing else, then the knowledge whereby to gouerne our liues and counrry, wisely and iustlie. And of the Philosophers he was called a ciuill man, who was by vertue & wisdom instructed and abled to command ciuilly: he had also sometimes authoritie to make lawes, & looke to the honest life of subiects. The end of ciuill discipline is the welfare of the Citie, that is to say, iustice or publique vtility. *Plato* in his commonweale hath framed two sorts of discipline, the one touching the exercises of body, the other of mind: he nameth the discipline of the mind *Musica*, the other *Gymnastica*. By the harmony of musike
he

*Learning
Lawyers ran
hardly to their men.
The office of
Counsellors*

he meaneth a certaine concord and consent of minde, wherein all actions be agreeable to the vertues, and likewise the vertues to them: which copulation in man, Lawe and Philosophie conioyneth, for by those two is knowen, what is honest, what dishonest, what is iust and what iniust, what is to be loued and what to be loathed: and moreouer in what sorte we are to obey our friendes, our Parentes and Magistrates. By the science *Gymnastica* he meaneth the exercises of bodie, whereby the force and strength is increased in man. This vertue consisteth in leaping, running, wrastring, hunting, riding, darting, to be both right and left handed, which, the education we haue of our nourses doth make diuers. In briebe all militarie and honest exercises are contained within the word *Gymnastica*. Surely there is not any thing more necessary in all sortes of men (and chiefly in a Senator) then to conioyne the exercises of bodie with the vertues of minde, and to mixe fortitude with temperancie. For as through the one a man aspyreth high: so by vertue of the other, he disdaineth not to humble himselfe, and thus yeelding to neyther side, he shall neuer dare nor doubt to much. For as by fortitude we doe repulse iniurie, so by temperancy we refraine to offer iniurie: by the one we are encouraged to honest violence, by the other, we are learned to restraine furie. To these things (as *Plato* thinketh) the *Musicall* and *Gymnasticall* sciences doe greatlie helpe; for to that, temperancy and the other vertues, to this, fortitude of bodie and minde may be referred. Wherefore these two ought be coupled together; because the *Gymnasticall* exercises alone, doe breede seircenes, and *Musike* by it selfe ingendereth ouermuch mildnes and effeminacy, but both of them conioyned, doe worke in man the perfection of vertue. In this sort therefore we will that euery man made fit for Counsell shall be exercised, because thereby he becommeth no lesse apt for warre then peace, and for those two purposes the commonweale begot him. Most noble and worthy memory was that institution of the *Romaines*, which commaunded, that the noble and honorable Citizens should be brought vp for those two endes: that is, to be Counsellors at home, and Captaines abroad. Which was the cause that Rome within the walles therof, contained so great a number, both of graue Senators and excellent soldiers. In so much as, *Cyneas* the ambassador of *Pirrhus* hauing had audience of the *Senate*: reported, that in Rome he had seene an assembly of many kings. Some men doe suppose that it appertaineth to ciuill science, to procure that the Citizens be

The knowledge of warr and peace of most necessitie in a Counsellor.

What law is,

The Lacedemonian discipline.
The Grecian discipline.

made good and of honest conuersation . For men are not onely to learne the skill of commaunding, but also the order of obeying, and that they ought aswell to honour and loue the Magistrates, as performe their commaundements . Which thing proceeding from the due execution of lawe, the Counsellor must in that poynt endeouour himselfe to become a skilfull and learned lawier . The first degree to the attaining of vertue and honesty, is to obey the lawes and Magistrates . For the lawe of euery state, is nothing else but vertue and good order of life, reduced into rules certaine . *Theopompus* king of *Sparta* being told that the *Lacedemonian* commonweale flourished because the kinges thereof were skilfull in gouerning, answered, *no* . But the reason thereof is, that the subiectes knowe well how to obey . Among many other *Lacedemonian* disciplines, the chiefe was (as *Plutarch* reporteth) to obey the lawes and magistrates, to indure all trauell patiently, and be perswaded to fight manfully, and die willingly . The like discipline was obserued in all other places of *Græcia*, and therein the youth were exercised: to the ende that through such instruction, they might learne, in time of warre to defend their country, in time of peace to gouerne, and such as liued in priuate life, to imploy their leysure honestly, that is to wit, in learning, well gracing their iesture, musicke, painting and swimming: deriding all those that were ignorant both, in good letters and the skill of swimming . A certaine Ciiizen of *Thebes* being asked how the state of euery commonweale might be preserued? answered, by the obseruation of iustice, and chiefly where is discipline among young men, and no couetousnes among old men . Great assuredly is the force of ciuill discipline in euery commonweale, for through it, euerie subiect is made apt for all kinde of vertue . Yet is it a thing notable, that some men with little or no studie, vtterly voyde of arte, nothing learned, and such as neuer tasted of Philosophie, nor scarcely euer heard thereof, doe neuerthelesse seeme wise, good, iust and valiant, bearing office & gouerning ciuill affaires with great reputation . Which so being, may happily moue some men to require an other kinde of Philosophie, reiecting that we haue spoken of, supposing those preceptes vnfit for their yeares and capacities, alledging the saying of *Phisitions*, that, *Art* is long, but mans life short . And *Plato* also, that he is commonly called happy: vnto whome in age, or rather in the declination of life, knowledge and true opinion of all things is granted . Experience trieth what is best, and time doth teach vs to be more wise . I confesse
wisedome

wisedome is hardlie gotten, and (that which is most to be lamented) the frailtie of mans life doth cause many impedimentes, which hinder the attaining thereof. Many there are, whome fatall death in the middest of their life, or rather sooner, haue taken away. Some also more willing to follow the delightes of bodie, then the vertue of minde, doe (as it were from *Scilla* and *Caribdis*) flee from knowledge, as a hard and vnreasonable life. What should I say of those that in despite of *Minerva*, are not content to doe or thinke any thing worthy Philosophie? All which reasons, albeit they do in some sort cut of our hope, to attaine Philosophie and perfect wisdom, yet ought they not vtterly discourage and make vs desperate: For the length of mans life is not to be measured by number of daies, but by vertue, which wanting, although thou suruiue the yeares of *Nestor*, or the *Phanix* age, thy life shall be short, miserable, and vnhappy. What harme is it for thee to die young, if after this death, vertue doth giue thee an other being? *Silenus* the Poet taken by the eues, and brought before King *Midas*, wanting money wherewith to redeeme himselfe, desired the king to grant him libertie, offering in recompence thereof, to giue him a thing for his Maiesty more precious then any siluer or golde, which gift, pleasantly and truely, he described in these wordes, saying. *The greatest good that God can giue man, is not to be borne, the next is, to die soone.* Which after he had by diuers reasons proued, the king did not onely deliuer him, but also reward him. Who is he that desireth more this frayle, miserable, and incertaine life, then the other blessed happie and eternall? the possession wherof is gained by the exercise of true vertue? we liue to die, why should we not rather die to liue? vertue hath giue thee happy life, thou shalt then die happie. Therefore our whole endeuer & studie ought be, to attain vnto vertue; wherof Philosophie is the nurse & Tutresse, for therby we shall either aspire hiest, or at the least, behold many vnder vs. It shall suffice, that albeit we are inferior to the first, yet we are equall to the second or third, so shall we be chiefe of those that come after vs. Among things excellent, those which be next the best are accounted great, for he that cannot aspire to the martiall glory of *Achilles*, needeth not be ashamed to receiue the praise due to *Atax* or *Diomedes*: or who so attaineth not the knowledg of *Plato* *Lycurgus* or *Solon* ought not therefore to be reckned without learning. Many (as is aforesaid) haue gained the possession of wisdom and skill of gouernment, not by reading the bookes of Philosophie, but by the obseruation

Mans life miserable.

Vulgar & ordinary wisdom.

obseruation of their ancestors, example, custome, experience, domesticall discipline, lawe, manners, and a certaine sagacitie of nature, being somewhat graced with honest and liberall education. Of such men, in all commonweales many examples haue euer beene. The Court is their learning; and vse, lawe, ordinances, which the customes of their forefathers haue taught them. *Demades*, a man very wise and well practised in state, being asked what Tutor he had to instruct him wisdom, answered: The Tribunall of the *Athenians*; thinking the Court and experience of things to excell all the precepts of Philosophie. Neyther did the ancient *Romanes* frame their iust and honest forme of gouernment, so much according to the bookes of Philosophers, as their own naturall wits. What should I say of our ancestors? who deuised a commonweale, not vnlike to the *Romane* state. The discipline of *Plato*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Aristotle*, and other most notable Philosophers, and law-makers, doe differ from the *Polonians*, whose greatnes grew onely by the vertue they receiued from themselues, and not from bookes. Their wisdom was to honour vertue; and contrary to it, neyther to doe, or thinke any thing. Therefore they vsed not their Kings and Senate, to compound controuersies, suppress contentions, or pronounce iudgements, but to receiue from them examples and rules of vertue, and as cheiftaines in warre follow them in defence of their countrie. That olde worlde (which the Poets called Golden) produced a race of men, of themselues most happy and wise: and truely not vnlike, for in that time of mans first age, (vertue onely raigning) the misery of vices and wickednes was not knowen, for they loued an vpright, iust and simple life, wherunto vertue and reason consenteth. They were therfore inforced to vertue and honesty, euen by the spurre of their owne nature, fleeing vice, which because it was to them vnknewen, might more easily be eschewed. Of that time *Ouidius Naso* writeth most excellently.

The golden
worlde.

*Aurea prima sata est etas, quæ vindice nullo,
Sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat:
Pæna metusque aberant, nec supplex turba timebat
Iudicis ora sui, federant sine iudice tuti.*

But so soone as the sonne of trueth declined, and with the cloudes of vices began to be darkned, forthwith the minds of men fell into wickednesse

The first Booke.

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nesse, as desirous rather to knowe vice then vertue, delighting in the one and shunning the other. Then euery man armed himselfe against vertue, thinking it was lawfull to offend others, to liue vngodly, abusing reason, and employing it in euill exercises, as the same Poet saith.

*Protinus erupit, Vena peioris in animum
Omne nefas, fugere pudor, Verumque, fidesque;
In quorum subiere locum, fraudeque dolique,
Insidiaque, & vis, & amor sceleratus habendi.*

And surely that floode and rage of wickednesse, had vtterly drowned all mankind, had not the force of nature and reason which remained in a fewe, opposed it selfe against the fury of so great calamities. Those fewe then (as it were proclaminge warre with vice) perswaded other men, (who then liued as brute beasts) to reduce themselues to humanity, en-
Who those were that restored the golden world.
forming them not onely by wordes, but also by writing, what was ciuilitie, vertue, and honour, whereof grew lawes in Cities as a tutresse to good life. So as men might there learne to thinke and doe those things which were honest, iust and godly: and to the ende those lawes might neuer perishe, they caused them to be written in bookes which are records of immortality, and preseruers of eternall memory. From hence the precepts of vertue did take their begiining, and many volumes of manners and dueties of men haue bene written. After them followed others, who aspyred not onely to knowledge of the offices and dueties belonging to men, but also serched the nature of all things. This consideration of humaine nature and world vniuersall, was in one worde by the *Gracians* calld *Sophia*, and the inuentors thereof were named *Sophi*: who afterwarde more modestlie (by example of *Pitthagoras*) called themselues *Philosophers*. By this meane, the light of reason, and humane nature which lay hidden, and was made darke with cloudes of vice, did recouer his vertue, and brought vnto vs the knowledge both of diuine and humane thinges. Which knowledge is called *Philosophie*: by the benefit whereof, mortall men recouered the ancient vertue, simplicitie, innocency and happines. Whoso euer in those daies desired to liue honestlie and well, flee vice, and knowe vertue: applied himselfe to reade the *Philosophers* bookes and marke their sayings, as men that vtterly mistrusted their owne nature and witt infected with knowledge of vice, euill education,
flour;

Who is with-
out Philoso-
phic wise.

Philosophy.

flouth, delicacie, Idlenes, opiniatry, and wicked conditions. Thus was that golden world by Philosophers restored, and the olde estate, nature and felicity, was recouered. Therefore, whosoeuer doth receiue from thence the precepts of vertue, honest life, and that ancient and golden humanity, is made not onely ciuill and wise, but also happy and most blessed. All those that without Philosophy and learning are indeed wise, doe attaine to their wisdom by one of these two waies. The one, by being indued with diuine nature, the vertue whereof comprehendeth, foreseeeth, and vnderstandeth all things. In olde time, amongst the *Grecians*, *Theseus* and *Cecrops*: and among the *Latines*, *Romulus* and *Numa* gouerned commonweales, not with Philosophy, but were instructed by the celestiaall Muses. The second meane to gouerne without learning is, to be perfect in forraine experience, and a vigilant obseruer of ciuill cautions. Such men if they be good, and permit all things to be directed by lawe, are praiseable, albeit their wisdom is imperfect, and subiect to many perils and mutations: but if they be euill, then are they so pernicious and hurtfull to the commonweale, as nothing can be more. Therefore *Munio* said well, that there was nothing more vniust then an ignorant man; for he not knowing the true rules of gouernment, thinking that the experience of one court, is the whole summe of ciuill discipline, doth fill the state full of tumultes and seditions, not conceiuing by what meanes, reason, cunning or counsell, such mischief is happened: and so being, wanteth both wisdom and iudgement. Of which two things, ignorance the mother of vice and all euill, hath bereft him. Sith then by the benefit of nature onely, we cannot be made happy and wise, our mindes being ouercharged with burthen of body, indued with the knowledge of things euill, and that we liue in such an age, as doth not (as in olde time) bring forth plenty of good men: It beho- ueth to deuise good meanes, whereby the minde may shake of the incumbers and vices of body, so as cleared from the rage of time present, we may be reuoked to the ancient diuine and perfect life of men: which thing may be done, by the helpe of art and exercise, the one is attained by labour, the other gotten by Philosophy. For the name of Philosophy includeth all things humaine & diuine, the knowledge of all artes, all vertues, all gouernment of state, and euery other thing which is eyther in heauen or in earth contained. This is that, which deliuereth the minde imprisoned in the body, from all affections, & teacheth it counsell,

sell, to liue well, commaund, and gouerne. Our Counsellor then instructed in the precepts of Philosophie, shall not from thence forth be shut vp, lurke vnseene, be solitarie, walke vnaccompanied, auoyde the sight of men, nor couer his slouth with keeping himselfe within doores: but shall conuerse with the multitude and Citizens, and with his presence honour and aide the societie of men. For no vertue, wit, or wisdom, can be famous, being shut vp within the wals, but of force it must come forth and shew it selfe. And the wisdom of a solitary Citizen is no more profitable, then the treasure of a couetous man buried in the ground, which serueth him no more, then if he possessed it not. What can be so great or noble, as that the vertue of euery particular man shoulde be seene, and brought forth, to be heard & seene of all men. For it is not easely known of what capacity, wisdom, and iudgement man is, vnlesse proote be made thereof. As the strength of wrastlers is known by the fall, and the swiftnesse of the horse by his carriere: so the vertue of a Senator, is by his actions tried. Thus haue we (as I hope) sufficiently spoken of that discipline, wherby a Counsellor becommeth happy, and fitt to gouerne the commonweale according to iustice. And sixth onely by the vertue of nature, that happines & knowledge cannot be attained, the same is to be supplied by vse. For we ought to learne, & so long to learne, as we are ignorant, or (as *Seneca* saith) so long as we liue, & repent not that we haue profited. The most assured signe that we haue profited in vertue, is, if we finde in our selues, that the force of our reason & vertue hath suppressed vnreasonable desires and affections, and if among men, we haue liued iustly, wisely, and temperately. But let vs now discourse of the manner of chosing our Counsellor, determining therein chiefly to obserue comelines and equity. Among other things which do preserue the commonweale & happines therof, there is nothing better then to elect such men for magistrates, as be indued with greatest wisdom, iudgement & ver-
The Counsellor must not be solitarie.
The election of magistrates.
The ducie of a good magistrate.
rue: and such as aspyre vnto honour, not by power, not by force, not by ambition, not by corruption; but by lawe, vertue, modesty & worthines. Magistracy in all commonweales is a thing of most reputation, because the magistrates are called the best, wisest, and most honorable men. Magistracy, is as it were an ornament of vertue, bestowed on the best sorte of men, for their vertue and well deseruing of the state. It is therefore the part of a good Citizen and good man, entring into magistracy, to preferre the welfare & honour of the commonweale before his priuate reputation

reputation and domesticall commoditie, not imitating *Sylla, Cinna, Carbo, Marius, Pompeius, Caesar* and such other Senators, whose ambition, sedition and factions, brought there commonweale well neere to vtter destruction. For they would not liue with equalitie, preferring the fruite of priuate glory, before the profit and tranquillitie of their countrie. As *Lucanus* writing of *Pompeius* and *Caesar* saith,

Impatiensque loci fortuna secundi.

Nec quenquam iam ferre potest, Caesarue priorem:

Pompeiusque parem.

Ambitious
men punisha-
ble.

Couetousnes
perilous to the
commonweale

Magistracy
ought be gi-
uen to vertu-
ous men with-
out respect of
riches.

In euery well gouerned commonweale, this insatiable desire of honour must be bridled, which the *Romans* did, so long as their state flourished: oppressing practises, and punishing the ambition of such men as contrarie to lawe and honestie, eyther by force, corruption, or any other dishonest meane aspyred to office. Some men distrusting their owne vertue, doe by bribes, aduance themselues vnto the most soveraigne dignities, which thing is more then any other, fewle, and pernicious to all estates. For such men in respect of riches, doe dispise both vertue and honesty: and thinke that honour or vertue doth not become any man, but him that is rich: which is the cause, that they attend to their priuate, not the publique commoditie; because they knowe all honours and dignities, are giuen to rich, and not to vertuous men, whereof proceedeth, that in euery such state raigneth couetousnes & immesurable desire of wealth: and of them, groweth voluptuousnes, deceit, fraud, enemie, contempt of God, Law and Magistrates. In such states, men embrace not that which is honest, but that which is profitable: for finding no rewarde due vnto vertue, euerie one holdeth the vertuous man vnder, by fraude, deceit, and power: so as the poorer sorte doe liue in the commonweale oppressed with miserie, and are forced to serue the rich, as more worthy persons: not in respect of vertue, but of power, fraude, and subtiltie. For they doe alwaies preferre priuate vtilitie, before honestie and vertue, selling, coarsing, and reiecting all lawes, liberty, rightes and iustice it selfe. *Iugurtha*, seeing great store of corruptible Senators in *Rome* (as it were exelaming) saide: That that Citie was salable, and would quickly perish, if any buier coulde be founde. The *Lacedemonians* consulting of the continuance of their state, were by

Apollo

Appollo answered. That *Sparta* should be destroyed by no meanes, but onely by auarice: and to auoyde that fatall prediction, they reiected the vse of all golde, siluer, and brasse, making a coyne of iron, wherewith men should be lesse delighted, and in keeping thereof more combred. Great care therefore must be taken in euery commonweale, that the offices should not be giuen rather to the rich then the vertuous men, and that those may be punished, that seeke with money to oppresse vertue. For it is a most readie meane to bring that state to ruine, where more regard is had to riches then vertue, because the subiectes will labour rather to attaine welth then vertue, disposing themselues wholly to heape vp coyne, which maketh them effeminate; fraudulent, desirous of other mens goods, lasciuious, and abounding in all kindes of vices. Where vertue is not esteemed, the Priest contemneth pietie, the soldier layeth by his sworde; the Senator seeketh not wisdom, fidelitie and diligence, and the people make no account of ciuill discipline; which so being, into their places entereth, audaciousnes, violence, iniustice, lasciuiousnes, and barbarisme, the sinke of all vices. It is therefore necessary, that good order and forme be obserued in the election of magistrates, so as in the choise, chiefe respect may be had to the vertue of good men. As touching the meane offices of state, by what order they should be bestowed, it is not our intent to discourse. It shall suffice, that the lawes and common custome be therein obserued. But for so much as among all sortes of magistrates, the place of him whom we call a Counsellor is of most reputation, vpon him (as it were a foundation) the whole waight of all other Counsels, and welfare of the commonweale resteth. It behoueth therefore that the choise of him be made with great care and circumspection. Euery state hauing euill Counsellors, is most euill gouerned, and no signe of equitie, iustice or religion, will therein appeare: But fraude, deceit, iniustice, and impietie raigning in magistrates, shall easily, by imitation, corrupt others. For we see by experience, that through the vices of gouernours commonweales be changed. Monarchies become Tyrannies; *Aristocracies* are altered into *Oligarchias*, *Democracies* conuerted into *Ochlocraties*: Therefore in election of Counsellors, these three things are chiefly to be obserued: of whome, to whome, and how they ought be chosen. To the first we haue (as I hope) already sufficiently spoken, when we said that in the number of naturall subiects the Counsellor ought be

Euill magistrates the confusion of commonweals

In the election of Counsellors three things to be considered.

Popular li-
bertie.

The Atheniā
cōmonweale.

elected, and thereof a little before we discoursed. Nowe are we to tell to whome, and how Counsellors are to be chosen. Wherein we haue thought good to resite the customes of other commonweales, which being knowen, we may the more easely conceiue what kinde of election fitteth with euery state, and which of them ought be accounted best and most profitable. In the election of all Magistrates, and chiefly Counsellors, all people in euery state were wont to respect three things, libertie, riches and vertue. For what doth depende of those three, and euery of them, is to be considered. Those that desire the forme of a popular state, doe chiefly respect liberty, for there is nothing that lea-
deth them to like and desire popular gouernment so much, as the sweet desire of liberty. Because they thinke libertie consisteth principallie in commaunding and obeying by turne, iudging it reasonable, that all Citizens should commaund, or at the least sometimes to cōmand & sometimes to obey. Therefore in all such commonweales, the Magistrates are chosen by lott, wherein Chance & Lucke doe helpe more, then Reason or Wisdome. Which order was inuented for the preseruatiō of liberty. For all men desiring to be thought and accounted equals, doe vse therein the ayde of fortune & chance, to the end that the rich & poore, the eloquent and simple, the mightie and weake, the wise and foolish, shoulde be equall, & that no one by wealth, eloquence, wisdom or friendship, shoulde oppresse an other, and consequently vsurpe the state with the libertie thereof common to them all. Imagining moreover, that the common good, profit, and liberty, may be preserued, better by many then one, or diuers. In those states therefore the condition of all men is a like, and it maketh no matter whether they be rich or poore, learned or foolish, so long as they be borne free men. In commonweales gouerned by a fewe, the order is, that a small number of wise, discrete, or rich men should gouerne, but in popular states it is contrarie, for there the ignoble, poore men and artifizers, haue equall precedence with the rich men. Wee reade that the popular state of *Athens* was gouerned in two sortes: the one, by fewe Magistrates, which were eyther rich men or wise men, the other consisted of all the whole number of free Citizens. The first was instituted by *Theseus*, who assembled the people into Cities, liuing before dispersed sauagely in the fieldes, perswading the most potente personages, that the *Democratie* ought be preferred before the Monarchie;

to

to the ende the foueraigntie should rest in the people, and he himselfe would be but as a Captaine generall in warre, and defender of the law: but in all other respectes euery of them should be his equals. Moreouer he instituted a conuocation of the whole people, making this difference betwixt the Noble men and Artificers & Housebandmen; that is to wit, that the noble sort should haue the ministerie of the Church, the foueraigne offices, and iudiciall places: but otherwise to liue in equall honour and dignitie with the rest. This first Prince (as *Aristotle* saith) would not frame any kingdome, but conforming himselfe to the disposition of people, contriued such a commonweale, as in the iudgement of all men was thought most allowable, most iust and most contentfull. In like manner he deuised such a popular state, as should not be gouerned by violence and furie of the multitude, but all things to be qualified by iudgement and reason, so as by honest liuing and obedience of lawe, the commonweale might enioy her happines. This commonweale begon by *Theseus*, was after gouerned by *Draco*, who gaue thereunto certaine bloodie lawes. Then *Solon* through sedition & discord of the Citizens, reduced the gouernment into the handes of a fewe, somewhat altering the lawes and magistrates. Last of all, that *Democratie* came vnto the hands of *Clisthenes*, *Aristides* and *Pericles*, and after all them, to *Demosthenes*. These men being pleasers of people, reduced all the Citizens to equalitie, increasing the tribes, entering seruantes and strangers into the company of Citizens. *Clisthenes* inuented the lawe called *Ostracismus*, which was executed vpon those of whome there was any opinion conceiued, that their wisdom or vertue might hinder the popular liberty. *Aristides* iudged it a thing reasonable, that banished men and the basest multitude, should be capable of magistracie. *Pericles* diminished the authoritie of the Senate, and weakened the dignitie thereof. *Demosthenes* finding the state fully in possession of the multitude, by a solemne oration allowed and commended thereof. *Aristotle* and his Tutor *Plato*, with other politicall Philosophers, doe thinke that the popular forme of commonweale is not vniust, being accompanied with good lawes, and a people willing to obey the same. For who is he that can mislike that state, wherein each man hath a lawe, to be as king and keeper of his libertie, and of the lawe, himselfe is Prince and Lorde. Surely I coulde well allowe of such a commonweale, where it not subiect to greate tumultes,

What kinde
of Democr
cy is iust.

Democracy
inconstant.

seditions and sodaine mutations. First, who is he that knoweth not the nature of common people is mutable, and will vse libertie immoderately. For indeed, the multitude eyther obeyeth flauithly, or doth commaund cruellie: being also entised or rather filled with the sweetnesse of libertie, so soone as it hath by some action aspired to greatnesse or glorie, it becommeth insolent, desiring to be thought chiefe, and holding equalitie vniust, doth vse most intemperately to beare hate, sedition, and ambition. So as, of such a commonweale groweth an insolent plebeyall domination. It also sometimes happeneth, that men blinded with loue of riches and wealth, doe chose rich men onely to be gouerners and keepers of common libertie, supposing them to be most worthy and fit to beare office in the state. Such a commonweale is called the authoritie of a fewe, or an *Oligarchia*, for those Citizens doe beare the soueraigne offices, who are aboue the rest of most wealth and substance. The Senators and other Magistrates in that state, are partly by election, partly by lot, and partly by generall consent, and sometime by a fewe created. And because the choise is made according to mens riches, each man indeuoureth himselfe not to attaine vertue but welth, knowing the offices are as it were thereunto due. In such commonweales, so greate veneration and worship is giuen to riches, as there is nothing so holie, so godlie or religious, that couetousnesse, (the fatall plague of all gouermentes,) cannot violate and subuerter. They that in the election of Magistrates doe onely respect vertue, and by it doe measure the felicitie of the state, doe inhabite kingdomes or *Optimates*. For those that obey Kings, whether they be by election or naturall discent, the people beleue them aboue all other men to be most diuine, most wise and most worthy. And they that desire to be gouerned not by one alone but diuers, doe in election of their gouernours obserue the like reason. Because among those men choise is made of the best, most iust, and sufficient persons to be Magistrates, without attributing any thing to lot or fortune: for each man examineth his owne iudgement touching the vertue of them, whome they desire to aduance, which is a respect of singular commendation in the bestowing of honours. For (as the Poet saith) it is a great matter to be poynted out with the finger, euerie one saying, this is he. Wheresoeuer chance hath more power then reason, there is little place left for vertue.

Who are chosen magistrates in an *Oligarchia*.

What kinde of magistrates are chosen in Monarchies and Aristocracies.

Yet

Yet doe I not, in a free state mislike the suffrage of chance, that goeth before or followeth the iudgement of good men, touching particular mens vertue. For in that cōmonweale where is most plenty of good men, there to admit chance for iudge of each mans worthines, may be thought reasonable. By that meanes men in office shall account themselues the most worthie Citizens, knowing they are aduanced aswell by the iudgement of good men, as the sentence of fortune. This order of election is obserued by the *Venetians*. The like institution *Solon* did make in *Athens* for choosing the 500 Senators. For out of euery Tribe was chosen so many, as were thought fit to become Senators whose names they vsed to put into one Pott, and into an other Pott as many beanes, the one halfe white, the other halfe blacke, then so many as happened vpon the white beanes were pronounced Senators, and those that lighted vpon the blacke beanes as repulced, returned home without office. Therefore *Thucydides* called that Counsell *Senitum à Fabz.*

What kinde
of lotting is
best.

Among the *Romaines* (sometime Lordes of the whole worlde) the Senators were chosen diuers waies, according to the diuersitie of times. For eyther they were chosen by the Kings, Consuls, Dictators, Tribunes of the people, Censors or Chieftaines. In all which elections till the time of *Augustus* no mention is made of lottings, but the vertue, fame, familie, age, order, office before borne, wealth, and profession were chiefly respected. Nowe for so much as there is nothing more excellent, nor more diuine then vertue, we thinke expedient, that in the choise of Counsellors chiefe regard must be had thereunto, because through it, Counsellors be made iust, valiant and wise. It behoueth all Magistrats, in euery well gouerned commonweale to be indued with vertues, and chiefly those that are aspired to the dignity of Counsellors. For Counsellors be reputed the defenders of lawes, the moderators of liberty, and conseruers of the whole commonweale. And as the commonweale is many times infected and corrupted, by the vices and wickednes of Magistrats: so is the same corrected and repaired by their vertues: Neyther is the mischief of their faulces so great, as that many others will imitate those euill examples. Such are the people of euery state, as are the manners of those that gouerne; and what mutation of manners the Prince vseth, the same is by the subiectes followed. *Plato* most excellently and wisely saith, that the estate of commonweales is changed, like vnto the alteration of musitions voyces. But it was better said of one

What consi-
derations the
Romans had
in the electio
of Senators.

The euill ex-
ample of ma-
gistrates
worke the
their vices.

other, that the change of a Princes life, & the alteration of maners in great Magistrates, would also change the māners, customs, institutions, rights & the cōmonweale it selfe. And truly I think that euill Princes do deserue worst of the cōmonweale, not in that they do euill, themselues, but that thereby all others become infected: and therefore the vices are not so hurtful, as are their vicious exsamples. Such men therefore as not onely with their owne actions, but their examples doe preiudice the state, are most seuerely to be punished. How is it possible, for any man to perswade others to vertue and obseruation of lawe, himselfe liuing otherwise? The *Romanes* laughed *Scylla* to scorne, that being a man most intemperate and delighting in licentiousnes, did notwithstanding vse to exhorte and compell others to sobrietie, temperance and frugality. Who would not also finde faulte with *Lysander*, though he did contrarie to *Scylla*, allowe those vices in the Citizens, from which himselfe refrained. But *Lycurgus* is in deede iustlie to be commended, because he neuer commanded others to doe any thing, which himselfe would not first doe and firmly obserue. Therefore they, vnto whome the commonweale hath giuen authoritie to choose Counsellors and other Magistrates, ought to be of greate iudgement, and high wisdom. For they shoulde electe those whome they thinke to excell all others in witt, wisdom, iudgement, vertue and good action. I doe therefore greatly dislike the popular order of lotting, to finde out men fitt for this purpose, because the people by helpe thereof, desiring to preferue their equalitie and libertie, doe incurre such error, as they commonly choose men most vnworthy the name and vertue of a Senator. Wherefore they ought in preferuing of libertie, to be most carefull of that which might chiefly profit the commonweale, not giuing (in respect of commaunding and obeying by turne) the gouernment to the slouthfull and foolish sort: for euery man liueth with equalitie enough in the state, so long as the same be gouerned by the wisest, discreetest and grauest Citizens. We therefore determine, that election of Counsellors is most perfect, which proceedeth from men excelling in wisdom and iustice, because they being vertuous, cannot permit any thing iniust, eyther in themselues or in the commonweale. In this our estate being gouerned by a King, a Senate, and people, some man may doubt whether the Senators ought be chosen by diuers or one alone? Where diuers haue authority to choose, eyther

Lysander.

Lycurgus.

What election of Magistrates is most perfect.

Whether Senators ought be chosen by one or diuers.

ther all subiects are included or part of them: as in a popular state the one, and in an *Optimatie* the other is vsed. Which so euer of them doth claime right of electiō, must of necessity disdain the other; for the people doe affect liberty, & the noble men desire authority. Wherefore, eyther they fall into sedition one against the other, or agree by law, or consent that eyther of them shall enioy the liberty of election. And though it so doe come to passe, yet will it not be long, before they returne to their former discention. For euery one knowing he hath gotten a partiall iudge of his vertue & wisdom, & beleeuing himselfe to be disdained of the contrary faction, practiseth hatred & conspiracy in the state, & reiecting the ornaments of vertue (trusting to discōtented friends) studieth ambitously by followers & corruption to aspire vnto authority, & what cannot be attained vnto by vertue, he extorteth by force and violence. So as good subiectes are by euill oppressed, and in place of iustice, vertue and wisdom, deceit, fraud, vice, & iniustice doe gouerne all. Surely it is a thing most perilous, that the magistrates of any state should be chosen by the multitude, which is no reasonable or indifferent iudge of mens worthines. For many times, eyther it enuieth or fauoureth those vnto whome they giue their libertie, not iudging according to reason, but is often moued by fauour, or drawn with desire to honour those that ambitiously labour to aspyre. And to conclude, whensoever the multitude doe make choise, the same is not performed according to discretion, knowledge, and iudgement, but fury and rashnes. There is not (as *Tully* saith) any Counsell, Reason, Iudgement, or diligence in the base people, and wise men haue euer thought good to suffer those things which the people doe, but not euer to commend their doings. The multitude haue alwaies had the desire, but not the iudgement to bestow the dignities, for their voyces are wonne by flattery, not gained by desert. This custome being by lawe or vse allowed in other commonweales, shall not be admitted in our state; for we recommend the election of our Counsellor, to one alone, being of all men iudged for vertue, wisdom & knowledge most worthy: thinking that one may more easily then many, eschew those perils, which happen in choosing Counsellors. But let him to whome this authority belongeth, receiue the same as giuen him by lawe or consent of the people, & not aspyre therto by force, corruption or Tyranny. The custome of free people, in the election of their Senators, vnto whome they commit their welfare, is to chose them among

The multitude no discrete iudge of mens vertue.

The election of our Counsellors appertaineth to one.

among themselves, or else to giue that authoritie of election to an other: which we reade the *Romaines* sometimes to haue done, who did not themselves choose the Senate, as they did other magistrates, but committed the doing thereof to one man alone, of most excellencie, good life, manners, authoritie, wisdom, and iudgement. *Romulus* the first father of that Citie, elected a hundred Senators, which custome was vsed by the other kings succeeding. But when the kings (through the insolent gouernment of *Tarquinius*) were remoued, this power of election (according to the qualitie of time) was somewhat altered, yet not giuen to many. For till the state returned to a Monarchie, the Senators were chosen eyther by the Consuls, the Censor, the dictator, or cheiftaine. Our ancestors haue most discretely brought that custome of the *Romaines* into this commonweale, giuing vnto the King power and authority to make choise of Counsellors, and be an onely iudge of each mans vertue; electing those whome for age, wisdom, and nobilitie he thought worthie. We therefore doe determine the power and right of electing Counsellors, to appertaine onely vnto the king, wherein, his greatest wisdom and iudgement ought be employed, not calling any to Counsell for skill in domesticall affaiers, for riches gained by agriculture, nor for skill in architecture: but for wisdom in gouernment of the commonweale, for preservation of Subiects, and knowledge in good and wholsome lawes. If our bodies be diseased with sickness, we consult with learned Physicians, or if we want garments or howses, we seeke for skillfull Artificers: why should we not also (as a thing of most importance) looke out and choose such men to gouerne the people and commonweale, whose wisdom can conferue the same in peace and tranquillitie. It therefore behoueth a Prince in the choise of such men, to vse the whole force of his capacitie, wisdom and diligence. For he is not onely to see, that in the Counsellor there be those partes whereof we haue spoken; to wit, that he be a naturall subiect, well borne and bred, and indued with those artes and disciplines, which are thought worthy a ciuill man destined to gouerne the state, but he must also consider the quality of his manners, fame, familie, age and vertue. It is moreouer to be knowen in what office or seruices the Counsellor (before his election) hath bene vsed, and with how much endeavour, fidelity, wisdom, and diligence he hath serued: For from some other place of imployment, the Counsellor ought

What things
are to be re-
spected in
choise of Coun-
sellors,

ought be chosen : which the *Romaines* vsed, electing their Senators onely out of that number, whome they called *Patres*, which was as it were, the nourserie of Counsellors. To be short, whosoeuer cho-
seth Counsellors, ought aboute all, to lay before his eyes the profit of the
commonweale, whereby he shall easely conceiue, what men and Coun-
sellors the state wanteth, and how much or little euerie one can helpe,
how great a burthen each man can beare, and what is to waighy for
his force. Let vs hereafter discourse wherein all these thinges consist,
what good the state receiueth by a Counsellors wisedome, and what
dueties he is bound vnto. By that which hath beene alreadie saide, the
King may sufficiently conceiue what things are considerable, to knowe
a perfect Counsellor, and likewise a Counsellor shall finde what is to
be obserued and vsed in gouerning. But lest the discourse of this in-
stitution should seeme ouer long, we thinke fit to speake of those quali-
ties in one other booke following, for not werying the readers minde
with many wordes, and thereby become ouer tedious.

Finis Libri Primi.



The first of these is the fact that the
 Government has not yet decided whether
 it will accept the offer of the
 United States to purchase the
 Alaska Pipeline. The second is the
 fact that the Government has not yet
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 offer of the United States to purchase
 the Alaska Pipeline. The third is the
 fact that the Government has not yet
 decided whether it will accept the
 offer of the United States to purchase
 the Alaska Pipeline.



The second Booke.



WE haue (as I hope) in the former Booke sufficientlie at large discoursed of the first principles appertayning to the Counsellors dignitie, how many kindes of commonweale there is, and which of them ought be accounted most perfect. We haue also laide the foundation of ciuill felicitie, which is in the societie of men, a thing most notable and diuine. Nowe our entent is in this booke, to set downe those vertues which are required, not onely in a newe magistrate, but an olde and expert Counsellor; so shall the science of gouernment be complete perfect and fully finished.

First, it behoueth a Counsellor to know the forme of that commonweale wherein he is to giue counsell and be a minister, what people, what lawes & liberties are therunto belonging: what manners are there vsed, & by what discipline, vse, and custome, the state is gouerned; he ought likewise to know, not onely those meanes wherby the state may be ornified, increased & preserued, but also how the same may be weakned, hindered, or subuerted. For as that Pilot is not accounted perfect & skilfull, who knoweth only how to sayle & keepe course in quiet seas, but he that by his Art vnderstandeth the nature & force of tempests, winds & storms, how to eschew perils, & by his art saue the ship tormented with fury of wind & water, leading hir to harborow & hauen of safetie: euen so the wisdom of a Counsellor, gouerning a quiet and peaceable state deserueth praise, yet much lesse then he, who finding the same wrought with windes of sedition, and afflicted with stormes of great dissention, restoreth it vnto good and desired pacification, making the people contented, tractable, peaceable, and voyde of perturbation. *Themistocles* is much commended, for reducing the *Athenians* (being then

The know-
ledge of com-
monweales,
necessary in a
Counsellor.

sauage

savage and simple) to liue in the Citie, and subiect themselues to lawes. But much more ought *Solon* to be praised, who finding the Citie, disturbed with rebellion and ciuill warre, reduced it to vnion, reestablisshing the lawe, and confirming the Magistrates. Neyther doe I thinke that *Camillus* for hauing deliuered *Rome* from the *Galli* is lesse to be honoured, then *Romulus* that first builded the Citie. Or is not *Cicero* to be preferred before the *Fabii*? he hauing recouered *Rome* from the wicked hand of *Catiline*, and they vndertaking a domesticall warre against the *Veienti*. *Pompeius* loued the commonweale, but *Cicero* preferued it, so as *Pompeius* might say, that vnlesse *Cicero* had preferued the state, he should haue wanted place where to triumph. Therefore *Cicero* would sometimes gloriously say, that others had done things honorably, but the thanks for conseruation of the state was due vnto himselfe. Who thinketh the vertue of *Caesar* or *Pompeie*, to be compared with the vertue of *Scipio Africanus*? yet did they most notable actes for their countrie, but he finding the same broken, weake, and as it were within one daies space to become subiect to the Armes of *Haniball*, did not onely rescue and recouer it, but also increased and enlarged it; which proueth the saying true.

Non minor est virtus, quam querere, parta tueri.

Cyrus in conquering kingdomes was happy, but in holding them vnhappy, he knewe the arte to winne, but was ignorant how to keepe. And surely those daies wherein we are preferued, ought be to vs more deere, then that wherein we were borne. Likewise they doe better deserue of mankind, whose wisdome hath deuised the welfare of men, then they, from whome their generation or conception proceedeth. I doe therefore wish the Counsellor to be indued with such knowledge, as consulterh not onely vpon things present, but also foreseeeth things to come, comprehending in minde the whole state, diligently considering all the chances, perils, mutations and inclinations thereof, whereby he shall with more facilitie conceiue the mischieues which happen, and eyther by foreseeing diuert them, or being growen, extirpe them. Neyther doe I thinke fit, that our Counsellor should be ignorant in the gouernment of other states, for by such examples he may conceiue the lawes wherewith they are gouerned, the manners they haue vsed, in what sorte

The know-
ledge of sun-
dry states ve-
ry profitable.

sort they haue beene altered, amended, and preserved. Likewise with what authoritie each lawe is made, what is the order of their publique Counsels, with the duetie belonging to euery of them, what libertie, dignitie, authoritie and iurisdiction appertaineth to euerie commonweale. In this our state, for so much as the Senate is a meane betwixt the king and people, it behoueth euery Senator to know, what is the maiesty of a king, his greatnes and iurisdiction, and likewise what is the right and libertie of subiectes, because the king and people many times comende one against the other, the one desiring immesurable libertie, the other affecting oppression. The intemperate contention of those humors doe greatly afflict the commonweale. For if the one doth preuaile, he putterh on the person of a Tyrant, or if the other be victorious, thereof are engendred as many thousande Tyrantes as heads of men. The tyrannie of many, is alwaies more cruell then of one. For the one taketh ende eyther by death, or by facietie of commaunding, but the insolent and insatiable licentiousnes of the multitude, doth feede the vaine of tyrannie; the venome whereof, doth long after infecte their posteritie. Therefore the Senate ought be exceeding diligent in preserving the libertie due and common to euerie one, and from that meane place, (as from a watching house or tower) to foresee the welfare of all, and take order that through sedition or contention the commonweale be not indemnified. For the Senate is a iudge betwixt force and feare, libertie and seruitude, the king and people. Tyrantes were wonte to vse certaine sleighes, in arming themselves against the liberty of people. First by remouing all good and wise men, with euerie other person hauing power in the state (because the vertue of good men is to Tyrantes suspected) and that one, compell the rest eyther by feare or force to become seruile, and they themselves to doe all things according to their owne lust and pleasure. Such counsell *Periander* gaue vnto *Thrasibulus*, perswading him to cut of the highest spikes of corne, meaning he should put the most noble *Athenians* to death. The like subtiltie was followed by *Sextus Tarquinius* the sonne of *Lucius*. He being suborned by his father, pretending to be banished, fled fraudulently vnto the *Gabii*, where hauing so much acquaintance and friendship as he thought suffized, sent secretly vnto his father to knowe what his pleasure was shoulde be done, who leading the messenger into the garden,

The state of Polonia.

The art of Tyrantes.

den, there walked, and in his presence with his staffe strake of the heads of all the Dazies, which being reported to his sonne, he put the chiefe noble men of *Gabia* to death, by force and iniustice vsurping the commonweale and liberty. The Tyrants doe also oftentimes inhibite the societie of Subiects, their meetings, their conferences, conuentions, feasting, and the studie of honest disciplines. Tyrantes also many times, doe sowe discord among the people, to the ende, that filled with hate and priuate displeasure, they may dispose themselves to warre and sedition, and thereby be impouerished, and being poore, and the warre ended, the offenders are forced to pay for pardon, so that euery way fleeced of their riches and made needie, they doe become base minded and vnfit to defende both liberty and well doing. These and many such like things the Counsellor ought indeuor himselfe to knowe, and by foresight prouide that the commonweale be not by those meanes afflicted. Let him likewise vnderstand, that the office of a king is not to care or studie so much for his owne priuate profit, as the common commoditie of his subiectes, to obserue his lawes, to preserve the rights and liberty of the people, and to maintaine the authority and reputation of his counsell. For kings were instituted to aid good men against the wicked and vngodly, and to them was giuen absolute power to reuenge iniuries, preserve liberty, and be iudges of each mans vertues and vices. A good king ought therefore to haue no lesse care of those he gouerneth, then hath the shepheard of his flocke, that is, to make them blessed and happy: *Homer* calleth king *Agomemnon* the shepheard of people, whom *Plato* doth imitate, calling him shepheard and keeper of mankinde. Moreouer a king ought to gouerne his people: Not as maisters doe their seruants, but as the father ruleth his children. Wherefore, as it is the part of good parents sometimes to rebuke their children, sometimes to admonish and cherish them, and sometimes also to correct and punish them. So shoulde a Prince behaue himselfe towards his subiectes, as well for the peoples preservation, as the safetie of the commonweale, shewing himselfe sometimes seuer, sometimes gentle and placable, defending and enlarging the common profit with no lesse care, then a father prouideth for the sustentation of his children. Thus appeareth the difference betwixt kinges and Tyrantes, the one doth care for the common commoditie, the other studieth onely for priuate profite. The ende
of

The office of
Kings.

The difference
betwixt kinges
and Tyrants

of the Tyrants indeuour, is voluptuousnes, but the ende of a kinges studie is honour. To excell in riches is proper to Tyrants, but a kinges chiefe desire, is honour. A Tyrant desireth the ayde of strangers, but a king is garded with his owne subiectes. *Alfonso* king of *Arragon* being asked which of his subiectes he helde most deare? answered, I loue them better that with me well, then those that feare me: which seemeth reasonable, because feare is accompanied with hatred. A King therefore should be no more safe by defence of Armes, then loue; good will; and fidelitie of subiectes. He is also to be honored as the minister of publique Counsell; the defender of lawes, and conseruer of common right and liberty. For better performing of all which offices, he shall doe well to harken to the aduise of his Counsellors and (as his parentes) loue and honour them. *Traianus* that great Emperour of the world, vsed continually to call the Senate his father: For like as the father doth foretell his sonne of those things he thinkes profitable: so doth a Senate Counsell the king howe the state may be preserued, and by what lawes and orders it shoulde be gouerned. Of these and other thinges appertayning to the office of a king, or that haue beene receiued by lawe, vse or custome, a Counsellor ought to be fully enformed. The popular sorte of men, is for the most parte mutable, by reason of the diuersitie of their ages. For of them, some being young, some olde, and some of middle age, it must needs be, that great dissentions should arise, euery man hauing a will and opinion diuers from others; and because they are all free men, each man frameth his life and manners according to his owne fancie, supposing there is libertie, where all men doe that which they lust and like. The diuersitie of manners doth breede among them varietie of mindes, and thereof doth followe sundry iudgements touching the state, lawe, and liberty, whereof hate, displeasure and seditions doe ensue, so as all men are not equallie affected to the commonweale.

The popular
sorte inconstant.

Those that be honestlie brought vp, naturally good, and well trained in learning, not furious, nor voluptuous; not womannish or licentiously giuen, are most willing obseruers of lawes, rights, concord, and ciuill society, nor sweruing (as men say) one inch from the rules of vertue, fidelity, & glory of their ancestors, because they keepe and retaine all those things as inheritance descended from their forefathers. That sorte

VWho are
good sub-
iectes.

Seditious
subiectes.

of men is in the commonweale to be reputed good subiectes: But they whose follie hath bene nourished by domesticall libertie, being borne at home and not trained vp abroad, wherby they haue neuer scene, done, or heard any thing notable, magnificent or noble, are to be thought persons seditious, craftie and perilous subiectes, yet would they be called and thought good, honest, quiet and modest, notwithstanding the contempt they haue to imitate honest men. And to the ende they shoulde not be thought blockheades and fit for nothing, deuise some new practise to gaine themselves fame, glory and commendation. And it cometh many times to passe, that pretending the patronage of liberty, by publique perswasion and furie, they take matters in hande in apparance godlie, but in trueth profane. And if any of them be by birth or education apt for sedition, and excell the rest in witt and eloquence, they offer themselves vnto the ignorant sort to be captaines and reformers of lawes, religion, and order, conspiring against the King, the Counsell and all good subiectes, as men that had taken in hand the renouation of the whole commonweale. Such men were of the *Romanes* called *Plebicola*. who to saue themselves from some punishment which before they deserued, doe take vpon the name of defending libertie, stirring new troubles and alterations in the state; eyther else moued by some sodaine furie of minde, doe perswade the people to discorde and sedition, or else hauing intrangled or rather prodigally consumed their inheritance and substance, (desirous to haue fellowes in miserie, and perish rather publicquely then alone,) were alwaies wont to attempt rebellion. Of such disposition were the *Romaines* called *Gracchus*, *Clodius*, *Catiline*. And in *Athenes* *Calistines*, with many others.

As the bodie of our commonweale consisteth in the coniunction of three estates, whose vniuersall consent and temperature doth make it most perfect and happy: so if the same bodie be deuided or dismembred, that state becommeth of all others the most lame, imperfect, and infortunate. For all other commonweales are subiect to one onely mutation, because they rest vpon one onely simple gouernment: But our state being mixed and made of three, must of force be subiect to as many conuersions and inclinations. If the king abuseth his office, the state hath one Tyrant, if the Senate so doe, there are diuers Tyrants. But if the power of people doth surpass the authority and force of both the other, then the commonweale is afflicted with an infinite number of
most

most pernicious Tyrants. Wherefore if in such a State, the office, libertie, dignitie, authoritie and iurisdiction of euery of them, be not confined and bound by lawes certaine, so as both by feare and punishment they be compelled to obserue lawe and liue honestlie, all good men shall there in vaine looke for quietnes.

The proper office of a Counsellor (as *Cicero* saith) is to imagine he beareth the person of the state: the reputation whereof, he is bound to maintaine, to obserue the lawes, set forth the proceedinges, and be mindfull of things, committed to his fidelitie. Also it becommeth him as a priuate man, to liue in equality with other subiects, neither debasing nor extolling him selfe, and to desire onely those things in the commonweale, which be peaceable and honest: so shall euerie one performe the true ducie of a good and loyall subiect. It also becommeth subiects moderately to vse their libertie. For as *Quintus* saide, temperate libertie is profitable to euery Citie, but ouermuch libertie is euill, and maketh men headdie or desperate. To suppress the licentiousnes of euill subiects, seueritie of lawe is required: Therefore it behoueth the state to foresee, that through not punishing of euill mens offences, the good subiects be forced to suffer at their handes. For the commonweale ought be accounted the possession of good and not of euill men. Moreouer, it cannot be, but in euery commonweale, seditions and motions will arise, and (*Hannibal* said) there was no great Citie that could liue long in quiet, vnlesse it had some enemies abroad, because otherwise, domesticall foes would therein arise. And as mightie bodies seeme assured from externall harme, so are they euer bourdened with their owne waight. Besides that, sith we are men, we must not (as the *Comedian* saith) thinke our selues free from any misaduenture that may happen to mankind. For although we be wise, prouident and good, yet are we men, and by instinct of nature lesse proan to vertue then vice, and in like sort there is no Citie that wanteth wicked, vicious and disorderly people. Therefore whensoever the floode of troubles doth happen to arise in the state, the office of a Counsellor (as *Cicero* saith) is patiently to indure the peoples wilfulnesse, to winne the heartes of those that are vnassured, keepe them that are already wonne appease the offended, and aboue all provide that the worst sort may not in any thing haue the aduantage: It is not also amisse that sometimes he winke and seeme not to see, so that those faultes whereat he winketh

The office of Counsellors.

The ducie of priuate persons.

Great states most subiect to trouble.

In appeasing sedition, what order is to be taken.

Precepts of
Plato.

Equalitie of
commonw.
of great ne-
cessitie.

Wherein e-
qualitie con-
sisteth.

doe proceede rather of error then wilfulnesse. But to pardon such as voluntarilie haue offended or committed any impious act against the commonweale, the honest orders of men, or the lawe, is not onely to be thought pernicious, but also wicked and detestable. Wherefore in suppressing so great a furie and rashnesse of mens fancies, the Counsellor ought to employ great wisdom and diligence, and let him therein chiefly vse those two precepts which *Cicero* reciteth from the mouth of *Plato*, the one is, that alwaies he looke well vnto the common profit, referring thereunto all his actions, and forget euery priuate respect: the other is, to be carefull for the whole bodie of the commonweale, least in taking the protection of part, he doth abandon the rest. For who so defendeth one onely sort of men, doth induce hatred and sedition: which two plagues, doe debilitate and subuert the state. He ought therefore to be as carefull of the people as of the King, of the nobilitie as of the meaner sort, of the rich as of the poore, of the wise, as the simple, and so consequently of all sortes and estates of men. The omission of which rule, was that which afflicted the *Athenians*, and filled *Rome* with sedition, tumults and ciuill warres. Let him therefore in all things obserue indifferencie and equalitie, for thereby the commonweale shall be assured, and the people in good will, loue, and peace preserued. In that state where small respect is borne vnto equalitie, there quarrell, contention, and enmitie doe daillie arise: which commeth to passe, for that men equall do aspyre to things vnequall, or vnequall men to things equal. But men of one fortune do best comfort together, and like will to like as the prouerbe saith. They therefore that excell others in riches or birth, are not to be preferred, neyther are they to be equally esteemed who are equall in liberty, but those that excell others in vertue, are to be accounted both superiours and equals: that is, in respect of law or number, (as the *Arithmeticians* call it) they are equall, but in dignitie, they are superiour, because in the bestowing of honours, vertue is chiefly respected. For who so is most vertuous deserueth most honour and glorie, and this equalitie because it is measured by reason and iudgement, is called *Geometricall*. I doe therefore thinke fit that the Senator should obserue both equalities. In the distribution of iustice and conseruation of libertie, he is to be towards all men indifferent. For whom the law hath made equall, ought to liue in rule and libertie, neither giuing nor taking from one more then
an

an other, as the line of law doth direct him. The rule of which equalitie is easely obserued. For the condition thereof is in all commonweales prescribed, which is, that each man should enioy so much as by lawe, custome, or conuention to him appertaineth, wherein heede must be taken, that neither wealth, powre or parentage be respected, but that aswell the poore as rich, the noble as ignoble may be equally iudged. As touching equalitie, according to the iudgement of reason, whereby men would be preferred and honoured more then others, is not so easelie discerned. For to iudge of each mans valewe, wisdom and vertue, with the honours to them due, is rather proper to a deuine, then humaine wit. The reason thereof is, we are often deceiued in our opinion of that which is accounted good, neither be we euer vpright Iudges of other mens deseruing. Herein therefore resteth the difficultie, for who so can truly iudge of mens vertue, shall therby shew himself rather a God then man. In conclusion, the commonweale is not preserued by any vertue more, then that: who so then in gouerning is a iust iudge of ech mans value & vertue (for it resteth in his censure,) & knoweth also, vnto whose hands to commit or not comit the state, whom to loue and whom to hate whom to reward and whom to punish, shall make the gouernment most quiet: but not knowing so to do, the same becommeth of all other the most wicked, corruptible and disordered. Therefore in popular commonweales where the multitude is rude and ignorant of discourse and reason the people are rewarded and punished by lot, for they pray God that each man may find fortune according to his merit. Notwithstanding for so much as the temeritie of lotting, obeyeth rather to fortune then reason, in the conseruation of equalitie we allowe of wisdom and humaine pollecie to be Iudge, rather then fortune. With which vertues if the Counsellor be indued, he shal easelie discern what ought in all things to be done. And therein he shall imitate the ducie of a good husband. For he hauing within his house diuerse honest persons, esteemeth one for his age, an other for his vertue, & a third for his condition: So the Counsel or in the commonweale should haue respect to each mans age, vertue, condition and calling. He must also vnderstand the right & liberty of people, (which as they think) do consist chiefly in being capable of the offices, to haue power to make & correct lawes, to speake freely in matters that concerne liberty, law or iniury, not to be arrested

Equalitie Arithmetical.

Equalitie Geometrical.

Wherin law and popular libertie consisteth.

or imprisoned without order of lawe or authoritie, nor be vniusally iudged, robbed or forced to pay tribute. They desire moreouer not to obey officers contrarie to lawe, not to be hurt of those that be more mightie, nor be oppressed by force, to haue libertie to desire and doe all thinges that is not by law and reason forbidden, to defend their law and libertie from Tyrants, to be partakers of the Parliaments, to beleue the King of highest authority, & the Councell of greatest vnderstanding, For where the Senate is Lord of publike Councelles, and all thinges by it determined, are of other estates of men obeyed, where libertie is in the people, authoritie in the King, the Councell in the Senate, there is the best temperature of libertie and equalitie, chiefelie if the lawes be alwaies obeyed. The Counsellor ought likewise to foresee, that the commonweale be not molested with any sedition, for in times of such troubles, the life of men is miserable and vnhappie. There is nothing so deuine, humane, holie or religious that sedition doth not contaminate, disturbe and subuert: That is the poyson of all states, which maketh the greatest dominions, small and mortall. The causes of sedition in all commonweales are more then the witt and reason of man can imagine. Wherefore continuall watch ought to be, lest the mischief begun, should more and more increase. The mindes of great men much honoured in the state, must be reconciled, for the discords of mightie personages doe drawe the whole commonweale, & of small beginnings most miserable euentures doe follow. In appeasing sedition two things are chiefly to be obserued, that is, in what sorte men are disposed to rebellion and for what causes. It happeneth sometimes that mens mindes are moued with turie, desire, feare, anger or such like affections: eyther else they are drawn with couetise, gaine, contempt, iniurie, disdaine, honour, and sometimes with religion. Sedition doth also follow, where one part of the people doth gaine great reputation and authoritie ouer the rest, and by some prosperous successe beeing insolente, desire to be aduanced aboue others, as the *Areopagi* among the *Athenians*, and the noble men of the *Argiui*, who hauing victorie of the *Lacedemonians*, sought to reiect the popular gouernment. Also the multitude of *Siracusa* puffed vp with pride of their prosperous warre vpon the *Athenians*, changed their state from a *Democratie* to an *Ochlocratie*. In *Rome* likewise the multitude not induring the dignitie of the Senate, made manie motions,

and

Sedition the
poyson of
Commonw.

What to be
considered in
appeasing
sedition.

and in the ende created *Tribunes*, by whose furie and insolency, the authoritie of the Senate was diminished, and by sedition and troubles brought the state to vtter destructiō. Sedition doth also sometimes happen in the commonweale, by reason one man doth exercise diuers offices, which thing is perilous in euery state, for that others doe seeme thereby defrauded, and iudged vnworthy of honour. Let each man therefore content himselfe with one office, so shall the state haue many ministers with diligence to attende the well doing thereof. Yet is it sometimes profitable, that in small commonweales, one man shoulde exercise diuers offices, but in great states the same vseth to moue sedition. A Counsellor therefore ought foresee, chiefly in extirpation of seditions, that nothing be done contrary to the ordinances, lawes and customes, preuenting all disorders in due time: for mischief growing hy little and little is not easely perceiued, but hauing gained force, it sheweth it selfe and cannot be lightly suppressed. He ought also not to be ouer credulous of perswasions craftely inuented to abuse the people, which are many times deuised by popular men and flatterers, who louing innouation, dare enterprise any thing to make them owners of their desire, and resting in that minde, they conspyre against the prosperitie of good men, cloaking their vice with the rashnesse and fury of people, which flame and insolency not being quenched in time, doth commonly runne so farre, as with the fire thereof, the whole state is consumed. The commonweale therefore requirereth the Counsell of some notable and diuine man, in whome it may repose the care of hir happines and well doing. By his directions and gouernment, all perils, seditions, discordes, mutations and inclinations may be suppressed, and therby enioy a happy peace and tranquility. Whoso euer endeuoreth himselfe to be such a one, it behoueth him to be prudent, iust, valiant and temperate, for from those fower vertues, all humane things, wordes, and workes doe proceede. Surely wisdom is a great & singular vertue, & so great, as I know not any thing in this world that may be therunto compared. For without it, the other vertues can neither be exercised nor cōprehended, which is the cause that *Socrates* (though therin he dissenteth frō *Aristotle*) doth call Prudence the only vertue: meaning, as I think, that without Prudence no vertue can be, or continue. *Bion* thought that Prudence excelled all other vertues, as far as the sight doth exceed all the other senses, affirming moreover, that vertue to be

In preuenting of sedition on what the Counsellor ought doe.

In a perfect Counsellor fower vertues chiefly required.

Prudence,

be

What Prudence is.

Theoricall
wisedome
differeth fro
Prudence.

Contempla-
tiue Philoso-
phers, called
rightly Sapi-
entes, but not
Prudentes.

The originall
of Prudence.

be as proper to olde men, as strength or currage was to yoong men. Wherefore we will that our Senator should be indued with this vertue, for he canneyther say or doe any thing worthy his commendation and age, if the same be not, (as with a sawe) seasoned with wisedome. But what this prudence is and wherein it consisteth, it seemeth necessary we shoulde here declare. The *Latines* haue called this vertue *Prudentia*, of *providendo*; because through it, the minde doth foresee things to come, disposeth of things present, and remembreth things passed. For he that thinketh not of things past, forgetteth his life, and he that foreseeeth not things to come, is subiect to many perils, and vnadvisedly falleth into euery misaduenture. Prudence (as *Cicero* saith,) is the knowledge of things good, euill, and indifferent, consisting wholly in the chosing and knowing what is to be desired or eschewed, and (as *Aristotle* thinketh) it is an habit coupled with perfect reason, apt for good action, and is exercised in those things which may happen to men, well or euill. Therefore *Theoricall* wisedome, doth differ from *Prudence*: because that passeth not the boundes of contemplation, and this is wholly giuen to action and humane busines. Moreouer this kinde of wisedome needeth counsell and fortune, to defend those things wherein it delighteth, because it is occupied in certaine and no variable sciences, which is the cause that *Geometricians*, *Mathematicians*, (with all the crew of naturall and solitarie Philosophers) are men learned, and skilfull, but not prudent. Inlike manner *Diogenes*, *Zenocrates*, *Chrysippus*, *Carneades*, *Democritus*, *Metrocles*, *Aristippus*, *Anaxagoras* and *Thales* were men of great knowledge, but not prudent; because their manner of wisedome or Philosophy was different from true prudence, being ignorant in those things which were profitable for themselves and others, delighting in matters secret, hidden, and obscure; which sciences, although they be good and notable, yet vnprofitable and impertinent to humane felicitie. Because prudence consisteth in those things whereof deliberation and counsell is to be taken, but if those contemplatiue Philosophers, had not estranged themselves from the conuersation and actions of men, but beene employed in the affayres of gouernment as was *Pericles*, *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Cato*, *Cicero* and others, they had (no doubt) beene men in wisedome most excellent. For true wisedome proceedeth from perfect reason, which if the Counsellor attaineth, eyther by Philosophy, ciuill discipline, or experience, he shall thereby know how to foresee things

things to come, gouerne well and wisely things represent, and when trouble or doubtfull accidents happen, speedely resolue, and giue present counsell; according to the time and occasion. *Plato* saide there were two things most notable in the life of man: the first was, a wise man to knowe all things, the second to know himselfe. Therefore with this most notable, great and diuine vertue, let our Counsellor be fully furnished; for without it no reason, no vertue, no action nor cogitation can be good or perfect. The chiefe propertie or force of this wisdom (as wise men affirme) it to be wise for our selues: because the prudent man doth first settle his owne affaires, for wanting wisdom to gouerne well his owne priuate estate, he may be rightly called foolish. *Vader Prudence* is contained the skill of well handling matters domesticall; the knowledge of making lawes; ciuill wisdom; and the conning of consulting and iudging. Therefore *Prudence* in a mans owne affaires, is by *Cicero* called domesticall wisdom; and the same vsed in publique matters, is named ciuill wisdom. For the perfect conceiuing of all these things, it behoueth him to vnderstand what is true and iust, because the knowing of truth, is proper to *Prudence*. For if we abandon truth, all things said or done, will be false iust and euill. Wherefore who so wisely & with a sharpe conceipt seeth & knoweth what in all things is comely and true, performing the same speedily & wittely, is in my iudgement to be reputed a wise man. And to the ende the wisdom of a Counsellor may haue certaine groundes, whereunto his imagination may resort for reasons to leade him to the truth, let him keepe in minde these two things: that is, honesty and profit. Then whatsoeuer he speaketh or doth, eyther in priuate or publique, the same must be, (as at a marke) directed and leuelled by honesty and profit. For all things which are conceiued by reason or expressed by speech, within the boundes of these two are included. We therefore require a sharpe and sounde conceipt in finding out what is honest and profitable, least the minde blinded with affections and desires, doth seduce the iudgement of our Counsellor and leade him from the path of true reason. Many men there are, who finding themselves to haue a little abused reason by giuing head to their affections & lustes, do fall forth with into opinions, from wisdom diuers and contrarie, wherof followeth, that they are not onely deceiued in their opinion of things honest & profitable, but are also with the loue of dishonesty & improfitable desires blinded. For auoiding wherof these

Prudence of two kinds.

A wise man.

two

What is to be
eschewed in
Prudence.

The end of
Counsellors
wisdom.

The felicity
of common-
weales.

Law the con-
seruer of ver-
tue.

What is to be
considered in
making of
lawes.

Occasion of
offending to
be remoued
by law.

two errors must be eschewed. First not to take things vnknown for known and rashly assent vnto them; next, not to yeeld vnto that which is euill, and contrarie to vertue and honesty. A thing most easie it is for the Counsellor, to comprehend the endes of honesty and profit; if he layeth before his eyes the good and welfare of the state, which is the end and scope whereunto all wisdom and prudence of euery Counsellor ought be referred; because neyther God, the people, his country, nor wisdom it selfe, can at his hand require more, then that the commonweale may be preserued in safetie and happines. And euery state is happy, which doth abound with all good things, and if the people therein be iust, temperate, valiant, free, wise, and therewith all rich, healthy, vnited and voyde of factions. The office of a Senator is also, not onely to take care of those things which tend to the felicity of the commonweale, but he ought be much more carefull to know by what meanes it may be therin continued and preserued. For it oft times happeneth, that by negligence of magistrates, the subiects (as each man is by nature proane rather to euill then good) by little and little doe decline from vertue, infecting the state with diuers mischiefs, wherein the commonweale must of necessity be drowned. For preuenting wherof, it behoueth, those euill accidents to be met with and remoued by law. For the nature of law in all commonweales is a bond to tye each man to his duty, and defend them in vertue and fidelity. But it sufficeth not onely to make lawes, wherby men are rewarded or punished according to their merrits: but it behoueth (as the *Lacedemonians* did) to prescribe examples, customes, and exercises of vertue, wherein the people may take delight. Therunto ciuill discipline is to be added: which both in time of peace & warre shall make men apt and obedient to all exercises of vertue. I wish also aboue all things, that in making of euery law, such iudgement should be vsed, that therein all occasion of offending may vterly be remoued. And as the Phisition doth heale the sicke body by medicine, so ought the Counsellor by good lawes to cure the mind. Yet can I not allow of those, who finding an inconuenience begun and growing, doth forthwith execute punishment, without deuising a reason how the same mischiefe may after be extirped. For I thinke it more expedient by Counsell and reason, to prouide how men may be made iust and honest, rather then how they might be put to death or punished. What man is so
cruell,

cruell, that would not take away occasion of these, rather by making prouision of come for the poore, then through want thereof enforce them to become theeues and put them to death? And who is he that seeth the commonweale inclined to vice, and the people spoyled with licenciousnes; but would reforme the same rather by pecuniall then capitall lawes? Therefore *Pullius* said, if thou wilt take away couetousnes, thou must first remoue her mother. exesse. A counsellor ought to haue euer before his eyes, all the commodities & discommodities of the common weale, which being to him vnknown, it is impossible to cure the sores and woundes wherewith it may be greued. He ought therefore to be informed, what life euerie notable subiect leadeth, how he is affected to the state, whether he obeyeth the lawes or be enclined to faction, whether the magistrates be faithfull and diligent in the publique affaires, whether they be couetous, cruell and vnmmercifull, or whether they be iust, gentle and pitifull. Also whether the Iudge be wise and learned in the ciuill ordinances, and whether they determine according to lawe, or their owne pleasure. Let him also so well comprehend in mind the whole commonweale, as to know all rightes, liberties & lawes belonging to the people, & as (*Cicero* doth counsel) what munition the state hath, what soldiers, what treasure, what confederats, what friendes, what stipendaries, and by what lawe, condition or compact euery of them is bound: he must also be perfect in the custome of iudgements, and the presidents of times past. All these things it be- houeth a Counsellor to know, and continually to thinke of them, for he is the man at whose hand the people and countrie doe looke for their welfare: and he sayling of his endeuor, or refusing to worke the welldoing thereof, doth commit an error not onely reprobable, but also impious. The chiefe ducie of our loue and fidelitie (next vnto God,) is due vnto our countrie: which who so loueth not, is perhap to be holden inferior to beastes: many of which kinde, drawen onely with loue to their naturall soyle (as captiues to their countrie) doe choose rather to die then abandon the place wherein they had their birth and education. This loue to our country ioy- ned vnto high wisdom, doth make such an vniuersall agree- ment among men, as nothing can be in counsell saide or done offen- siuely, vnwisely or vniustly, but euerything in the ballance of perfect iudgement equally and indifferently examined. Thus we see the force

The com-
dities and dis-
commodities
of commonw.

Knowledge
necessary in
Counsellors

Loue to our
country.

What is to be
eschewed in
Prudence.

The end of
Counsellors
wisdom.

The felicity
of common-
weales.

Law the con-
seruer of ver-
tue.

What is to be
considered in
making of
lawes.

Occasion of
offending to
be remoued
by law.

two errors must be eschewed. First not to take things vnknown for knowen and rashly assent vnto them; next, not to yeeld vnto that which is euill, and contrarie to vertue and honesty. A thing most easie it is for the Counsellor, to comprehend the endes of honesty and profit; if he layeth before his eyes the good and welfare of the state, which is the end and scope whereunto all wisdom and prudence of euery Counsellor ought be referred; because neyther God, the people, his country, nor wisdom it selfe, can at his hand require more, then that the commonweale may be preserued in safetie and happines. And euery state is happy, which doth abound with all good: the people therein be iust, temperate, valiant, free, and all rich, healthy, vnited and voyde of factions. The Counsellor is also, not onely to take care of those things which bring felicity of the commonweale, but he ought be much more to know by what meanes it may be therein continued: as it oftentimes happeneth, that by negligence of magistrates (as each man is by nature proane rather to euill then to good) little doe decline from vertue, infecting the state with vices wherein the commonweale must of necessity be drawning wherof, it behoueth, those euill accidents to be removed by law. For the nature of law in all commonweales is a bond to tye each man to his duty, and defend them in vertue and fidelity. But it sufficeth not onely to make lawes, wherby men are rewarded or punished according to their meritts: but it behoueth (as the *Lacedemonians* did) to prescribe examples, customes, and exercises of vertue, wherein the people may take delight. Therunto ciuill discipline is to be added: which both in time of peace & warre shall make men apt and obedient to all exercises of vertue. I wish also aboue all things, that in making of euery law, such iudgement should be vsed, that therein all occasion of offending may vterly be remoued. And as the Physicion doth heale the sicke body by medicine, so ought the Counsellor by good lawes to cure the mind. Yet can I not allow of those, who finding an inconuenience begun and growing, doth forthwith execute punishment, without deuising a reason how the same mischief may after be extirped. For I thinke it more expedient by Counsell and reason, to prouide how men may be made iust and honest, rather then how they might be put to death or punished. What man is so cruell,

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PAGE

cruell, that would not take away occasion of these, rather by making prouision of come for the poore, then through want thereof enforce them to become theues and put them to death? And who is he that seeth the commonweale inclined to vice, and the people spoyled with licentiousnes, but would reforme the same rather by pceuniall then capitall lawes? Therefore *Tullius* said, if thou wilt take away couetousnes, thou must first remoue her mother, exesse. A counsellor ought to haue euer before his eyes, all the commodities & discommodities of the common weale, which being to him vnknown, it is impossible to cure the sores and woundes wherewith it may be greued. He ought ther-

The commodities and discommodities of commonweale.

fore to be informed, what life euerie notable subiect leadeth, how he late, whether he obeyeth the lawes or be enclined to the magistrates be faithfull and diligent in the pub-
hether they be couetous, cruell and vnmercifull, or iust, gentle and pitifull. Also whether the Iudge be wise in ciuill ordinances, and whether they determine according to their owne pleasure. Let him also so well comprehend the whole commonweale, as to know all rightes, liberties belonging to the people, & as *Cicero* doth counsel) what munition, what soldiers, what treasure, what confederates, what dependaries, and by what lawe, condition or compact

Knowledge necessary in Counsellors

he is bound: he must also be perfect in the custome of governments, and the presidents of times past. All these things it becometh a Counsellor to know, and continually to thinke of them, for he is the man at whose hand the people and countrie doe looke for their welfare: and he fayling of his endeuor, or refusing to worke the welldoing thereof, doth commit an error not onely reprocable, but also impious. The chiefe durtie of our loue and fidelitie (next vnto God,) is due vnto our countrie: which who so loueth not, is perhap to be holden inferior to beastes: many of which kinde, drawen onely with loue to their naturall soyle (as captiues to their countrie) doe choose rather to die then abandon the place wherein they had their birth and education. This loue to our countrie ioyned vnto high wisdom, doth make such an vniuersall agreement among men, as nothing can be in counsell saide or done offensively, vnwisely or vniustly, but euerything in the ballance of perfect iudgement equally and indifferently examined. Thus we see the force

Loue to our country.

of wisdom is great, sith through it (as by a gate,) we passe vnto all the other vertues, and without it no vertue can defend it selfe, because onely by benefit of it, we become iust, temperate and valiant. Also by it, we are instructed where, when, and how to vse all other vertues.

Prudence hath also vnder her certaine other vertues, which are as it were followers and companions, by which meane, her power becometh enlarged and ornified, which if the Counsellor doth carefully remember and diligently obserue, he shall thereby in his actions and counsell gaine great praise and glory worthy the wisdom of so great a personage. Wherfore first it behoueth him to be witty, docible, of good memory, of sound vnderstanding, circumspect, prouident, warie, and wilie: For these vertues (as *Plato* and the *Peripatetickes* affirme) are the followers and seruants of Prudence.

Witt.

Witt is a certaine naturall force, by nature incident to reason, hauing power to conceiue things proceeding from reason, which although many times it be not nourished by industrie, art and memory, yet is it alone of force, and without vse or learning, doth make many men very commendable. Let the Counsellor therefore know his owne wit, and become sharpe in the excogitation of reasons, eloquent in delating and ornifying his speech, and firme in memory. This wisdom whereby we first conceiue all things, doth spring from the quicknes of wit, and is increased by memory and aptnes to learning, of which two, men are called ingenious, and is confirmed by learning and experience. That witt is most laudable, which is constant, strong, sharpe, immutable, noble, pleasant, gallant and liberall.

The sharpnes of witt is much ornified by docilitie and memory: by the one, we be taught to conceiue those things which are laid before vs, by the other we retaine in minde whatsoeuer is eyther by our selues inuented, or by others vttered. In the exercise of those things, it behoueth a Counsellor to be most diligent: for not to conceiue quickly and remember what hath beene spoken of others, is the proper tie of a dull and foolish witt, which was the cause that *Demosines*, *Alcibiades*, *Mithridates* and diuers others most notable men, haue beene (as we read) in those things much practised. Furthermore we must know, that as witt is the grace of euery Counsellor, so vnderstanding is the light of wit, by vertue whereof, thinking and vnderstanding, we conceiue all things, or their *Ideas*, as well true as false.

Vnderstanding

For

For by common vnderstanding we comprehend the knowledge of things, and through it iudge, that euery thing honest ought be referred to vertue, and whatsoeuer is dishonest must be included in vice; which vnderstanding is not disioyned from the sences, who are, as it were interpreters and reporters of knowledge, yet must we take heede not to be deceiued by sensuall iudgement: and therefore all feblenes, dullnesse, and insensibilitie ought be eschewed. For it often happeneth that cyther by art or subteltye, we become shamefully deceiued, which error in all things (and chiefly in the knowing and iudging of good and true from bad and false) is to be auoyded.

We will also that our Counsellor should be circumspect, not onely in those things which doe happen priuately, but also in euery other that may be hurtfull to the commonweale. For he must endeuer himselfe in the safetie of subiects, to foresee all stormes that can happen vnto the state, and prouide for the preservation of euery member thereof. This vertue called circumspection, is a carefull consideration of things to be done, and both in warre and peace of much importance, because through wise circumspection, the force and furie of fortune is diuerted, and we yeeld rather to reason and counsell, then trust to the rashnes and fiercenes of fortune. In this vertue *Quintus Fabius* did excell, for he (as is reported) by delaies and protracting time, saued the *Romain* state: but contrariwise, *Flaminius* incircumspectilie trusting to his courage & strength assailed *Hanibal*, to his owne great disaduantage. I omit to tell how *Q. Scipio* the Confull with diuers others was through want of circumspection, by the *Cimbri* distressed. In time of peace it is also most needfull & profitable that the Counsellor should vse circumspection, and be as an *Argus* or *Lynceus* in the commonweale, to spie out those things which appertaine to the concord, peace and welfare of the people. for not so being, he cannot foresee what seditions, wars and vnlooked for accidents, do daily happen to the prejudice of the commonweale. Some there are so ignorant, so vnwise or blinded with abundance of pleasure, as scarcely they can discern things before their faces: much lesse foresee them, which (by the euent of things and time, become perilous to the commonweale) are an occasion of many misaduentures; which kind of men, (as more carefull of their owne priuate, then the publique commodity) might deseruedly be remoued from gouernment. For notwithstanding they see the threatnings of war,

Circumspection.

The circum-
spection of a
Senator.

By what
meane the
felicities of
subiectes is
preserved.

Providence.

the people caried away captiue, the countrie spoyled, women and children sold for slaues, townes burnt, fieldes wasted, and temples profaned, and moreouer behold the commonweale with most extremitie affected by barbarous enemies, yet vse they no circumspection, counsell, nor medicine, wherewith so great a furie of miserie may be cured or cooled. For perhaps they more willingly behold the people troubled and weakened with sedition, the meaner sort of the more mightie oppressed, and the religion of God neglected. But the good Senator, with all his force embracing the commonweale, studieth by what meanes the common sauestie and welfare may be made happy and perpetuall. He prouideth that the furie of enemies, may by garrisons and fortresses be restrained: that castles and bulwarkes may be builded, the places of defence may be repayred, and that passages may be stopped: all which things are commonly great obstacles and impeachments to enemies. It is also requisite to haue some subiects well trained, reddie, and exercised, for by such preparation the comonweale being as it were fortified, disdaineth the force of forraigne enemies, and diuerteth their mindes from offering violence. The *Lacedemonians* were wont to call the bodies of men, the walles of *Sparta*. The felicitie of subiects is preserved by giuing to euery man his right, uniting them by fauour, by seueritie of lawes and iustice: In all which things it behooueth the Counsellor to shew himselfe wise and circumspect; for to neglect those things which appertaine to the conseruation of peace and repressing of rebellion, is not only foolish & ignominious, but also impious & wicked. And who is he that may better preuent these mischiefes then the Counsellor? for he being placed amidst the people, seeth not onely the order of each mans life, his right, libertie, licentious and seditious disposition, but is, (as it were purposely placed in a tower,) diligently to behold both things present, and also foresee things afterwards to follow. And as the Physition findeth the disease increasing, the Captaine conceiueth the subiltie of his enemies, and the shipmaster preuenteth the tempest of the seas: So ought the wise Countellor to foresee the perils, inclinations, chances and mutations of the commonweale. For his office is not onely to see things present, but also foresee things to come, wich vertue of foreseeing, is called *Prudence*: and they that are therewith indued, be named prouident and prudent. Because *Providence* (as *Cicero* writeth) is that, wherby things to come

come are seene before they happen: Yet true it is, that to foreknowe things, is rather proper to wits deuine then humaine, because God onely knoweth things to come, and such knowledge is the proper vertue and condition of mindes deuine. Notwithstanding, for that we haue in vs a certaine shadow or likenes of diuinitie, it happeneth that we also doe coniecture and forsee things to come, which may be by two meanes: eyther by inspiration and will of God, or by our owne proper instinct. To the first kinde, belong prophesying, diuination, & such like knowledges, which are in men by inspiration and reuelation from God. Secondly the soule being seperated from the bodie, remembereth things past, beholdeth things present, and foreseeth things to come. And of that prouidence this our present speach entreateth. For those things which are written touching dreames, intrailles of beastes and fowles, lotts, monsters, stars, southaiers, *Auguri*, *Arioli*, Astrologers, spirits, and infinite other meanes, whereby the *Aches* iudged of things to come, seeme not to appertaine to our purpose. But if the minde of our Counsellor be holy, pure, and vndefiled with dregs or spot of vices, and that his bodie be an habitation of that celestiall spirit and diuine minde, absolute and perfect, by vertue thereof he may prognosticate and foresee things to come, and may be called not onely prudent, wise or prouident, but also holie, diuine, godly and religious. Such men were the prophets in our law, and the *Sibille* and southaiers, with all those (whom they say) were instructed by the Nymphes and Gods: as *Tiresias*, *Mopsos*, *Amphiaraus*, *Calchantas*. But how this celestiall prouidence is attained, our intent is not here to discourse. This skill of prophecy being put into men, and by diuine inspiration shut vp in our bodies, is most strong, when the soule deuied from the bodie, is by diuine instinct moued. But let vs returne to humaine prouidence, the exercise wherof is also to be accounted diuine. For whē the mind of a wise man, is indued with the knowledge of all humaine thoughts and actions, and vnderstandeth also the beginning, euent, mutations and declinations of things present and future, comprehending likewise in minde, the *Idea* and forme of things to be done, which nature or reason doth gouerne by a certaine and inuoluble course, being I say in all these things studied and informed, hauing sharpened the edge of his witt, and conceiued the state of mens actions and affaires of the commonweales, he may by such meanes foresee and foreknow what is

Prouidence
diuine.

Humaine prouidence,

Demonium
Socratis.

in them good, what euill, what infirme, what durable, because in such men there is somewhat diuine, called a spirit, which *Socrates* had, and was therewith alwaies accompanied: which spirit is nothing else then the minde of a wise man, chaste, vndefiled and exercised in the iudgement of things: for such a one by euerie small coniecture may (at occasions) conceiue what is hereafter to come. A certaine prouidence is also also learned by vse and examples, which the Counsellor shall do well not to contemne. In which knowledge, he shall be chiefly helped by reading Histories: because examples are of great force to diuert or remooue incōuenients, sith euerie man flieth that willingly, which he hath found most dangerous in others. Therefore a Countellor ought be wise in foresight and conceiuing euils long after to come, and omit none oportunitie to forewarne and consult what is fittest for the state: because, looked for mishaps, are with more patience indured. Sodaine mischieses are for the most part with difficultie or great danger eschewed, because in things sodaine, our mindes are dismaied and voyde of counsell, but those things which are naturally looked vnto, are well avoided. We must therefore take heede in time, least our wisdom be learned to late, and it were a shame to say in vaine, had I wist. If the Pilot before the tempest prouide not that the ship may saile in safetie; when windes do rage, his prouidence proueth to no purpose: So the Counsellor should thinke how the state may be preserued, before the same be hurt, offended, or assaulted with enemies. For it is better to be warie by foresight of perils past, then make prooue of misaduentures present: because (men say) errors by past, may be reprehended, but not amended.

Caution.

Prouidence is alwaies accompanied with caution, wherby we eschew those present euils which may happen vnto vs: for nature hath so framed vs, as naturally we desire good things and shunne euill. Which shunning of euils (if it proceedeth from reason) is called *Caution*, and therewith onely wise men are indured. The profit of this vertue is chiefly seene in words and works, for to vtter thy conceipt warely, and worke that thou art to doe aduisedly, is the part of a wise and well experienced man. Wherefore in all consultations it behooueth the Counsellor, to be in speach not onely graue and short, but also warie and heedefull, as *Horace* doth well warne him, saying.

In verbis etiam tenuis, cautusq; serendis.

It

It happeneth also, that so often as any thing be spoken rashly we repent the vnadvised vtterance of that speech; and many times our selues and the commonweale also are brought to disaduantake; when forraine affaires be done rashly, or any consultation of publique causes be carelesly performed: because in sodaine speech we powreforth many things; which ought to be concealed. Therefore the *Comedian* warneth vs well, saying, It is folly to discover that which ought to be concealed. In speech a Counsellor must alwaies remember; to speake nothing in anger, in feare, in mirth, in hast, or vnpremeditated, which things obserued, he shall declare himselfe both graue and wise. Hauing also occasion to conferre or speake with the enemies, neighbours or ambassadors (the indeuor of whome is to discover secrets) he must be most warie; for therein they vse great cunning to vent our thoughts by coniectures, and gather our meaning by signes. In those actions therefore a Counsellor must haue a settled minde shewing the constanciethereof in iecture, countenance, words, and mouing of his eies: For they are the bewraiers of mens thoughts. He must be also nothing hastie in beleeuing other mens words, for there is nothing more profitable for a wise man then incredulitie. Yet let him so vse the matter as not to seeme hard of beliefe, or be altogether incredulous, vnlesse the reputation or troth doth otherwise require. For against apparant trueth to maintaine any thing, is very vnseemely. Neither would we haue him so silent, as thereby to be thought dull or effeminate, for the one is imputed to want of knowledge, the other to a certaine maidenly bashfulnes which in men is alwaies to be reprobued. Therefore a certaine meane is to be used aswell in silence as speech, yet so, as he be a greater hearer then speaker: which was the respect, that nature gaue vnto man two eares & one tongue. Surely it is a singular wisdom to know in what sort to be silent, & euery man ought to consider wel what, how, where, to whom, & in what place to speake. Also in all negotiatiōs buisines & counsels great cawtion is to be vsed, which may be done by such as search wisely what is in euery thing comely or vncomely, what profitable or vnprofitable. Let his counsell be sound, prouident and prudent, and in vttering thereof, he must vse great sagacitie and be warie. How necessarie warines and cawtion is in warre, needeth not here to be discourfed: for our intent is to frame a Counsellor of state in counsel, in court, in iudgement, and in peace, gowned not in warre armed.

What is to
be obserued
in speaking.

Silence.

Yet this I say, that warrs haue not beene better gouerned, nor armies more safely preserued, nor the subteltie enemies of more wisely discouered, then by the vertue of caution, which if a chieftaine wanteth, he is ignorant in all other vertues belonging to a Captaine generall.

Sagacitie.

We will also that our Counsellor should be quicke witted to conceiue and search out the reason of matters propounded to consultation. For in deede sagacitie is a sharpe and present conceipt: and as it is the propertie of a wise man to consult well: So is it the property of a quicke spirit, wittily to vnderstand, and soundly to iudge of that which an other man speaketh.

Wiliness.

Moreouer I with him to be not onely sharpe in conceiuing, but also craftie and subtil in searching what subiects doe thinke, what they desire, what they hope for, and what they aspeect. By that meanes he shall retaine the multitude in obedience, and by knowing their counsels and cogitations, direct those things which be in them euill. Some lewde subiectes doe vse to conspire the destruction of good men, eyther induced thereunto by hate, furie or insolencie, sometimes alio they so doe of will, hauing the gouernment in their hands, sometimes for that they finde themselves inferiours to others in riches, honour & authoritie: and sometimes, because they thinke themselves disdained & lightly regarded in the state. So as for these causes they beare displeasure to others, mouing warre, and sedition, practise their death (& if their force doth so suffice) they aduenture to bring the state into apparant hazard.

The meanes
to suppress
sedition.

In suppressing of these motions and cogitations of euill men, the counsellor must shew himselfe warie and subtle, not euer dealing openly, or by direct opposition, but rather charging the force of such men, eyther behinde, or on the side, and by perswading, admonishing, desiring and courteously chastising, reduce them to be better, more tractable, and more perswasible. He must also, at occasions threaten them with authoritie, & by seueritie diuert the from such wicked & execrable enterprises: alwaies considering & deeply pōdering in mind, by what art and meanes, the quiet and tranquillity of subiects may be preserued, and how sedition & discord, with their causes should be extirped.

Consultation.

For that is a thing which appertaineth chiefly to the conseruatiō of cōmonweales. For bringing of which thing to passe, prudent consultatiō & deliberation must be vsed, because consultatiō is the scholler of good counsel. It therefore behoueth a Couñsellor in this & all other things to be carefull

carefull that whatsoeuer is determined, may before execution with great wisdom, and sound iudgement be considered and examined. The force of all consultation consisteth in those things which appertain to the common life of men and conseruation of a commonweale. VVhereof to consult. He ought not therefore to consult of things eternall or celestially, as of the world, or of things which cannot happen, or of them that doe happen by nature, chance, or fortune, as of findings treasure and such like, neither shall he consider of trifles, as of emptines, nor of things past: for what is done, cannot be againe to doe. But all consultation should be of things to come, and that which may happen or not happen after this or that sort, the reason whereof seemeth to belong vnto the profit of men. Of which things, *Aristotle* rekoneth fiue kindes: Of getting money, of peace and warre, of conseruation of our countrie, of commodities to be brought in or caried out, and making of lawes. If consultation be for leuying money, then must the reuennues, customs and imposts of state be seene and knowne, to the ende they may be increased or diminished. Yet vnlesse great necessitie so requireth, the imposts would not be enlarged. For all new impositions (although reasonable) are commonly offensiu to the subiects, and breede much occasion of trouble. *Tiberius* the Emperour being perswaded to increase the tributes of his people, said it was the propertie of a good shepheheard to sheere his sheepe, but not to fleae them. He shall also perswade necessary charges of state to be continued and remoue superfluous expences. For the better knowing whereof, let him aswell imitate the examples of other nations as his owne country, wherein the knowledge of histories will greatly helpe him. If consultation be of warre and peace, it is to be considered of what force the enemy is, or may be, what kind of warre is to be made, and against whom. It is also good to know the strength of neighbours, whether their force consisteth in footemen or horse, whether it be equall or vnequall to ours, in what respect they be stronger or weaker, to the end that peace may be made with the stronger, and warre with the weaker, which thing must be performed with great iudgement & sound deliberation. Moreouer he shall consider whether the cause of warre be iust, and whether without armes our desire may be brought to passe. For a wise man ought to proue all meanes before he taketh armes, because honest peace is euer to be preferred before cruell warre: Touching the defence of our country Consultation touching money. Consultation of warre. Consultation of defence.

Consultatio of
marchandizeConsultation
of lawes.

countrie, it behoueth to know how much force is required, how it is garded, and what places of strength is thereto belonging. It is also necessary to remember the order of our warre and seruice. But if we consult of portage and rep ortage of commodities, aboue all heede is to be taken, that the commonweale may not at any time want things necessary, and that whatsoeuer is superfluous may be solde and caried away. Care must be likewise taken, that in exchanging marchandize the prises of things may be considered, to the end that the state be not robbed of money, and in lue thereof, such needles marchandize brought in, as doe make the peoples mindes vaine and effeminate. In the ordaining of lawes also, great wisdom is required: For in them resteth the well doing of the whole commonweale. Therein it helpeth much to vnderstand the course of the state, what lawes haue bene receiued, and by which of them it hath bene conserued, and by what new ordinances it may be assured. Whereof may be inferred that the lawes ought be framed for the commonweale, not the commonweale for the lawes: because one kind of lawes are not fit for all countries. Neither are these knowledges onely profitable, but it is also necessary to know all the confines of our countrie, the better to forsake those forraine things which be euill and receiue the good. In cōsultation of matters of most importance, it is many times good to vse the aduise of others, for one man foreseeeth not all, which proueth that saying of *Homer* to be true.

Bini ubi conueniunt, melius rem perspicit alter.

Counsell.

For of good and prudent consultation wise counsell doth commonly proceed: which is the chiefe foundation to performe things commendable. It therefore behoueth a Counsellor to excell all others in Counsell. For Counsell is a certaine aduised reason touching the doing or not doing of things propounded, which a Counsellor must of necessitie at all occasions be readie to giue, grauely, wisely and honestly. For sith in all matters three things are required, that is counsell, reason and successe, it is requisite, that good consultation should aswell go before action, as good successe follow good consultation. And as a man fighting doth deuise how to hurt his enemy: so must the Counsellor in counselling accommodate his counsell vnto the time and persons. The things

things wherof we are to consult (as *Cicero* teacheth) are of three sortes; eyther we consult of things honest, things profitable, are of those things wherein profit and honestie doe contend. These three being exactly known to a Counsellor, doe fully informe him how to giue Counsell in all matters whatsoever. Yet is great wisdom required in knowing what is honest and what is profitable, and it is a matter of no lesse vertue to vnderstand of two honest and profitable things, which is the most honest or most profitable. We vse sometimes to take counsell of the matter, the time and occasion, wherein (as in all other things) we must neuer flie from honesty or profit, for we flie that which offendeth, imbrace that is profitable, and among many euils, choose the least. Furthermore in euerie good Counsell we should resort to that which of all other good things is the best, as well in the particuler good of our owne life, as the publique good whereon common felicitie dependeth. Herein all the originall causes of our cogitations and Counsels ought to consent. For all Counsels are vaine, which tend not vnto this ende of publique felicitie, as no winde is prosperous for him, that knoweth not in what haue he desireth to ariue. In taking counsell, great wisdom, and in giuing counsell, fidelitie and religion is desired. For euill counsell is worse in him that counselleth, but wise and faithfull aduise, is accounted most commendable. Let the Senator also take heede least in giuing counsell he attribute any thing to fortune or chance, for they doe seldome or neuer perfectly follow the trueth: Euen as the man is not valiant, who doth valiantly by chance or vnaduisedly: So he that followeth fortune or hap without reason and iudgement, is not wise. The Counsell of a senator must be wise, good, faithfull, mature, deliberate, and free: not foolish, craftie, hastie or pernicious. All craftie and audacious Counsels are in apparence pleasant, in execution hard, and in euent dangerous. Let him also know, that there is nothing so great an enemie to good counsell as hast, being alwaies followed by vile and shamefull repentance: which is proued true not onely in ordinarie actions, but also in martiall enterprises. Neuerthelesse we perswade not our Counsellor to trifle the time, but execute speedely. For celeritie tempered with wise counsell, is alwaies profitable, many things there are also, wherein a wise Counsellor should not intermeddle, but if he happen so to doe, they may not be abandoned. Therefore wee commonly saye, that,

Matters con-
sultable of
three sortes.

The ende of
good counsell.

The qualitie
of counsell.

hastie coun-
sell dangerous

that, aduise should be slowe, but execution speedie, for the end and not the beginning of euery Counsell must be considered, and all things referred to necessitie. Neither haue commonweales appointed meetings and assemblies of Counsellors for other purpose, then that of aged and wise men, all matters might be first pondered, and after maturelie performed. At which deliberations and consultations of great matters, we will that these men should be present. For it proueth greatly expedient and profitable, that matters propounded in Counsell, should be much and long considered, & it were follie in one howre to determine matters of most importance.

Sentence.

Old men most
apt to vtter
sentence.The end: of
sentence.

After Counsell followeth sentence, which is nothing else then the plaine demonstration of a mans minde and counsell. For it behoueth in words and speach to expresse what we haue thought, to the end we may know what lieth hid in the minde and reason of man. This secret, seemeth to proceede of nature, that diuers men who are not wise, yet in vttering their sentence and concept, doe seeme redlie witted, of good vnderstanding, and subtil: all which gites they commonly attaine vnto by a certaine habit of age, whereunto Prudence is an handmaid and follower. Olde men are therefore most perfect in vttering their conceits, notwithstanding they be vnlearned: for by vse and experience they haue (as it were) a third eye wherewith they easely descerne the beginning and euents of things. As euerie man is by speach discouered, So a Counsellor by vttering his opinion declareth how wise and prudent he ought be accounted. *Socrates*, vpon a time, behoulding a young man neuer before seene, said vnto him, speake, that I may know thee, as though a man should say vnto a Counsellor, by grauity of thy speach let me know thee for a good Counsellor. And we commonly say, speach is the touchstone of mens mindes. Therefore a Counsellor ought in vttering his sentence, employ all the force and strength of minde, to speake things profitable for the state, which is the ende of sentence. Some men doe vse certaine cunning and plausible speeches set forth with painted words, which seeme more then true, yet triall sheweth, that in them there is no sinceritie, fidelitie, or grauitie. And indeed it is not euer necessarie that the Counsellor should speak to the wiser fort eloquently, nor to the foolish truely. Others there be swelling with priuie grudge, anger and hate, so soone as they haue caught occasion to speake, doe forthwith fall into blaming and slaundering others, hoping
by

by that meanes to win good will and reputation. Which kinde of men, doe no waies profit the commonweale, but rather by hatred, displeasure and discords hinder the state. For if they were good men, in causes concerning their countrie, they eyther would not or should not be angrie, hate or grudge at others. Some also being scarce of counsell in pronouncing their sentence doe follow the footesteps of other Counsellors, saying after them, and therefore were among *Romaines* called *Pedarij Senatores*: Yet if they so doe not through ignorance, ought be allowed: for it is reasonable and profitable for the state, to imitate and follow the opinion of wise and good Counsellors. And sometimes it happeneth, that all Counsellors are of one minde and meaning, which so being, it is better to affirme that which was spoken by others, then with many wordes, as it were of one effect, consume the time. A Counsellor must also beware that in speaking his sentence, there appeareth in his speech not selfeliking or ostentation. And albeit diuersitie of opinions, will sometimes occasion contention in Counsell, yet therein all flaunder, offence and other perturbation, (which may peruert or disturbe the state) ought be eschewed. And in reconciling of opinions, let the greater number preuaile, for that which seemeth good to most men, must be thought iust and most agreeable to reason. The order of speaking in Counsell, is in diuers states diuersly vsed: for in some the eldest men do speake first, in other the yonger Counsellors, and in some also they that are of most experience and wisdom, are preferred. In that matter the custome of euerie place is to be obserued, and that order to be reputed good, iust, profitable, & conuenient, which reason & common vse among men first time to time hath receiued. Yet doth it seeme best that the opinions of the most aged and experienced men should be first heard, to the end the yonger sort may haue the more time to deliberate of their speech. Besides that, the yonger Counsellors opinion, being first pronounced, doe sometimes deuide the elder, and drawe them into sundrie conceits. Therefore the best is that euerie one should speake, not when he would, but when he is asked. For by such meanes order shall be obserued, and all occasion of contention removed. In speaking, it is lawfull sometimes to speake doubtfully, because the difficultie of the matter may excuse the speaker, also by the diuersitie of other mens opinions, the minde is distracted, not knowing to which side to yeeld, wher

The order of
pronouncing
sentence.

Sentences to
be pondered
by waight
not by num-
ber.

in the suspicion of rashnes must be eschewed, least of set purpose or affection more then of iudgement, we yeeld to the opinions of other men. For the censures of other men are to be pondred not numbred, and heede must be taken, that the greater part doe not oppresse the truer.

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of the Coun-
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Aristotle doth permit that a man in saying his sentence may twise speake doubtfully: But if the third time he trip or fayle, he shall not after be suffered to speake in that cause. We must also take heede least our speach be ouer long, for therein a double fault is committed: by making our selues wearie with speaking and others with hearing.

The voice of
a Counsellor.

Which error *Cesar* sometimes reproued in *Cato*. Let the Counsellors speach therefore be short, sincere and not obscured with inticing termes, not vnaduised, not doubtfull, or deceitfull, but graue, simple, holy, and true. And it is fit each man should speake sworne, to the ende God may be the witnes of his minde. It importeth not much whether his sentence be written or rehearsed in words, yet the reasons written are commonly set downe with more diligence, chiefly if the matter requireth a long oration. His voyce would be manly, and framed rather to grauitie then effeminacie, cleare and audible: not

Three things
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soft, nor so low as cannot be well heard. In conclusion, the Counsellor ought to obserue three things by *Cicero* prescribed; that is, to be present in counsell, (for the ordinarie meeting of Counsellors doth adde thereunto a grauitie,) to speake in place vnto that is asked: and in good sort or vse measure, which is, that this speach be not infinite. That the Counsellor which absenteth himselfe is blameable, wherefore being called he must obey. Neither is it fit that any Counsellor, should goe into forraine nations, vnlesse he be publicquely sent as Ambassadour, Gouvernour, or Commaunder in warre, least by such absence the commonweale be damnified. The chiefe substance and ground of a Counsellors wisdom, is, that in all his wordes and workes he performe the part of a good and iust man, which chiefly consisteth in the comliness of his life. For it sufficeth not, that we be wise, vnlesse we are also good. For prudence without iustice is meere subtiltie, and holden rather a vice then vertue. By the benefit of vertue we are made good, that is iust, courteous and honest, but by wisdom we become onely wise. Besides that in respect of vertue we are called good,
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but for wisdom alone we are not. Therefore he is indeed (as *Plato* also affirmeth) to be named a good man that embraceth the vertues, living accordingly, and feareth not to die for his countie, whensoever the same is assaulted or oppressed, and be content to suffer all things, rather then that the state should be changed: which is commonly brought to passe by men of the worst condition. Wherefore the Senator must be carefull to be no lesse good and iust, then prudent or wise. For wisdom without iustice is euill, sith of iustice men are called good: Some men in authoritie doe prooue themselues eloquent and wise, but therewith full of subtiltie and dishonest sleight. For they hauing in hand the patronage of libertie and lawe, doe in speach and apparance seem carefull therof, but (their actions well examined) doe detect them for men vniust, vnworthie, and dissembling. And being indued with a false kinde of wisdom, hauing their tongues but not their mindes instructed, doe commonly indeuor to alter and not amend the publique pollicie. There is not in anie commonweale a worse mischief then the authoritie of such men. For they doe alwaies ad-
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Who is a
good man.

Abuse of au-
thoritie.

Iustice.

Whosoever will with an attentue minde behold and search the condition of things diuine and humaine, shall see that nature hath giuen to euery thing a firme, stable, and constant course, which of it selfe cannot be changed, but by a certaine and determind way doth passe and returne. First we behold the celestiall orbes; the Elements, beastes, foules, and creeping creatures haue their properties, not receiued by chance, but by such naturall instinct, as leaue them they will not; or if they would, they cannot. What should I say of men? doe not we see a certaine way to felicitie, prepared of GOD for good men, and likewise destruction made for euill men. Also the path which leadeth to vertue is narrowe, wrong, and hard to be discerned, but the waie vnto vice on the left hand

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our hand, that ech man should nourish, defend and gouerne himselfe : for he that by wilfull hunger, negligence, or death, is destroyed, ought be iudged iniust and an enemy to nature. We are also bound by nature, to relieue our friends with our goods, and by generation of children to continue a posteritie. In fine, those that obey nature, are reputed iust, and those that do the contrarie, are iudged vniust: for nature abhorreth euill, and embraceth that which is good. *Socrates*, and his schollers, defined this naturall Iustice, saying it was the science of good and euill according to nature: which if a man doth exercise alone, (following nature as guide) he ought be called a good man: and communicating it with others, deserueth the name of a good Citizen, because then he is not onely profitable for himselfe, but others also. To be iust after this manner, in liuing according to nature, doth not onely become a Counsellor, but also euery other man. Moreouer, they that by nature are indued with more singuler gifts, ought to be about others most iust. And therefore sith nature hath aduanced a Counsellor before other men, it behoueth him to excell in Iustice, for being inferiour herin, is reputed dishonorable & ignominious. These are these things which in the cōuersation & maners of men ought to be obserued.

Iustice naturall.

That Iustice which belongeth vnto God, and whereby we are by nature bound to acknowledge, worship, reuerence, loue and honour him, is onely proper to men. And it hath pleased nature, the mother of all things, that in the minde of man onely the knowledge of God should be impressed: leauing all other creatures to eate, feede, and pamper their bodies. Man onely is that creature among enumerable others, to whom the honour, reuerence, ad worship of God is committed. No people therefore inhabiting the circle of the earth, but honoureth some God: which they thinke a thing honest, iust and necessarie. The societie of God and men is by a certaine naturall necessitie and beneuolence conioyned, and cannot be broken, as though men were borne of God, and therefore him they worship and reuerence as a father. It behoueth that the honour giuen to God, should be most pure, most holy, and full of pietie, that is, we should honour him with a chaste, intire, and incorrupt minde. All the substance and force of holines and pietie, consisteth in religion: which is a vertue conteyning the knowledge how God should be honoured. By it we are also enformed how to render vnto him thanks with true honour and holy minde. Hereof men are

Iustice diuine

What religion is.

called religious and holy, because they loue, and (as it were) binde themselves to do deuine honour. God fauoureth pietie and faith, and in respect of them extolleth kingdomes. All things doe prosper with those that obey God, and euerie thing decayeth in the handes of others, that honour him not. Moreouer, religion is of such force, as through it, men are indued with all vertues, and in retaining them, are made no lesse constant then religious. In him that honoureth God, there groweth a constant, true and inuentable hermonie of verrtues: For whosoever doth honour him religiously, is prudent, and temperate, which vertues are so tyed vnto religion, as by no possible meanes they may be sundered. A constant religion doth worke a firme continuance of lawes, customes, vertues, and commonweale it selfe. It behooueth our Counsellor therefore, to haue no wauering or mutable, but a stable and certaine beliefe of God and religion, for that is the foundation of his wisdom, vertue, and dignitie. Neither should any Senator be admitted to counsell, whose religion is inconstant or vnsetled. For in counsell nothing ought be done contrarie to religion, or against God: but euerie thing performed with constancie, synceritie, holinesse, and religious meaning. Therefore a Senate is called sacred; because all things in it done, are reputed holy: not onely among men, but before God also. The place also wherein the Senate doth assemble, is accounted holy: sith euerie Senator ought (with reuerence,) to lay aside all vnlawfull counsels and euill cogitations. The *Romans* going to Counsell offered Frankensence, to that God in whose temple the Senate was assembled. But the Christians ought obserue other customes, for all their prayers and supplications, should be to obtaine grace and goodnesse from the almightie God; because their prayers onely are holy, and religious. Thus it appeareth, that false or vnsetled religion in Counsellors, is not onely accounted euill and vnworthie but also impious and wicked. But of diuine Iustice, let this we haue said, suffice.

Ciuit Iustice.

The knowledge of humaine Iustice, which is also called ciuile, is a thing secrete and hidden. For albeit hath originall from naturall Iustice, and therefore the precepts and vse of it seemeth easie and common: yet is it not truly conceived or exercised but of such men, as are eyther indued with some diuine nature, or that haue bene employed in all kindes of vertue and good studies. For
that

that Iustice requireth a learned and wise man, who endeouoreth himselfe therein, not casually, or against his will, but aduisedly, reasonably, constantly and willingly. Such a one we will our Counsellors should be, possessed with so noble and experienced a iudgement.

All force and vse of ciuill iustice consisteth partly in the preseruati-
on of societie among men, and is partly exercised in court and place
of iudgement. And there is no vertue more fit or profitable, to e-
stablish, conserue, or amende the Senate, then this. All other
vertues are referred to their particuler endes, and may be well with-
out man exercised: but Iustice resteth in the tuition of mans so-
cietie, which is the cause we call it Reconciler and conser-
uer of mankind. This vertue alloweth of no foule, cruell,
barbarous, or vnseemely thing, but embraceth things honest, quiet,
and peaceable, caring for nothing more, then that men should liue
together louingly, free from iniuries, seditions, hate, and enmities:
not desiring the goods of others, but giuing to euery one that
which to him appertaineth. With this vertue, we will that our
Counsellor should be indued, for thereby he becommeth the defender
of common profit, the protector of innocents; weake and hum-
ble persons, a repressor of proude men, a louer of the good, an
obseruer of trueth, an enemy to euill men, and so to vice. The
foundation of this vertue is fidelitie, which (*Cicero* defineth it)
to be a constant and true performing of more and promise. A iust
Counsellor therefore doth affirme things true, not doubtfull, ob-
serueth his promises, standeth to compactes, restoreth what he bo-
roweth, and to the performing his faith is not compelled by lawe, by
witness, or oath, but by his owne willing consent, freewill and
word, which he accounteth as a lawe. Moreouer, being called
from the priuate life to gouerne in state, he laboureth by counsel-
ling, caring and providing that iniustice be kept vnder, and that
by the stronger, the weaker sort be not oppressed; euer eschewing the
desire of riches. Whatsoeuer ought be giuen for vertue, or well
deseruing, he bestoweth vpon honest and well deseruing subiectes.

Furthermore, he iudgeth valiant men worthie to be rewar-
ded, and slouthfull subiectes to be punished. For by these two;
paines and preferment, the welfare of euery common weale is
preserved. In the bestowing of offices, he declareth himselfe vpright;

The office of
a iust Coun-
sellor.

To whom ho-
nour ought
be giuen.

Equality to
be obserued
in the bestow-
ing of honor.

reputing those worthie of most honour, that are men of most merit. And in euery state I thinke it fit, that care should be had of the distribution of offices: because honour is the reward of vertue, and euery good man accounteth it the fruite of his labour, and seruice. Neither ought that state be commended, where offices and honours are giuen without respect, as well to the euill, as the good, the fooles as the wise men. It ought therefore be prouided by lawe, that the honours may be made due to those, whose vertue and industrie is recommended by good men. In the commonweales of ancient time, Images of metall, arches tryumphall, publique sepulture, open praise, and such like honours were giuen to men of seruice and good deseruing. In company and conuersation, regard must be had to each mans age, degree, and condition: and diligent consideration, what is in euery man of necessitie, vertue, or vse. We account those most worthy honour, who are men well borne, vertuous, in authoritie, and rich: because they are most profitable for other men and the state also. We likewise vse to honour & reuerence our elders, by bowing our bodies & giuing them place. Moreouer, for so much as the good in men, is of three sortes, that is, goods of the minde, of the bodie, and of fortune, they are all in the bestowing of honours to be iustly respected. Therefore the goods of minde must be preferred, next vnto them the goods of body, and last the goods of fortune ought be regarded. To euery of these somewhat belongeth, according to the worthines thereof and each man ought to haue his right and honour due. All these things a Counsellor ought to know, and in bestowing offices, honours and gifts obserue equalitie; for that is the ballance of iustice wherewith each mans manners, vertues, and actions, are waied and examined. In which, heede must be taken, that by ouermuch leaning towards one side, we seeme vnequall iudges and esteemers of other mens vertue. For he that giueth ouermuch to him that deserueth it not, doth giue to little vnto him that is of better desert, and consequently no rightfull or iust iudge. Whereupon, this iustice is defined by the Philosophers, to be an habit of the minde destined to common vtilitie, giuing to euerie man the honour he deserueth. Among the vertues which challenge interest in the conuersation of humaine societie, equalitie is not the last, being the handmaiden, seruant, and follower of iustice: because it doth not (as men say) remoue one haire bredth
from

from her. This equalitie in iust pondering and esteeming things and persons, vseth a double manner of proceeding: the one ordinarie and common, iudging by number, waight, and measure: the other more difficile and secret, that is, waying euery thing by reason and iudgement. Which knowledge is onely vnderstood of wise men, and those that are practised in great affaires: and the other chiefly known to such as are occupied in barrating buying and selling. Let the Counsellor therefore haue the skill of that equalitie which proceedeth from reason and iudgement, whereby he may conceiue what is due to each man, what honours should be giuen, what giftes bestowed, what offices distributed, what is iust, indifferent, good and wise, in all things, in all persons, and in all places. This equalitie is assuredly a notable thing, and for the seruice of euerie state, exceeding necessarie. And indeed we see many therein dull and incapable, whereby matters are handled at all aduentures and contentiously, greatly disturbing not onely the societie of men, but the commonweales also. Thus much we hope shall suffice, to haue beene said of Iustice, which consisteth in vse, societie, and conuersation of men, not intermeddling with courts of Iudiciall seats.

Equalitie of
two sortes.

An other kinde of Iustice there is, not farre vnlike to this, and that concerneth iudgement: the foundation whereof is lawe and the iudgement of wise and iust men. Before such time (as is before said) that the skill of written lawes was inuented, each man prescribed a lawe vnto himselfe, and sought not the same in the books of lawmakers or Doctors. For in those most ancient times, that chaste and pure virgin (Iustice I meane) had her habitation within the mindes of men, giuing them lawes and precepts how to liue iustly, and vprightly: for she being present, suffered not among men any thing to be done, vniustly, deceitfully, or wickedly. But so soone as men grewe wearie of iustice, beginning by little and little to couet other mens goods, offer iniuries, and take ouermuch to themselves, not restoring that they borrowed: forthwith arose hate, dissimulations, enimities and warre: and thereupon martiall instruments were deuised, hauing in them so great furie as might force not onely iustice, but *Iupiter* himselfe to giue place. Iustice with feare of these terrors driuen away) left the earth to be gouerned by

Forraine Iu-
stice.

humaine

Iustice to be
fought in
heauen.

What is Iu-
stice.

The ende of
lawes.

Law com-
maundeth
three things.

humaine licentiousnes, and fled to heauen, making her house of habitation there betwixt *Leo* and *Libra* the celestiall signes. Euer since which time those that desired to gouerne iustly, were forced to looke for wisdom from heauen, because the precepts of true iustice, defiled with our vices, cannot without the speciall grace of God be conceiued. *Homer* not without cause, was wont to call kings and others inspired with the wisdom of gouerning, *Sonnes of Iupiter*. Therefore this gift of diuine iustice must be desired of God, that through the precepts and lawes therof, men may be reduced to their ancient and golden perfection, and such effect be wrought in the tuition of mans societie and in gouernment of commonweales, as in olde time that celestiall and incorrupt virgin (during her presence on earth) was wont to performe. Wherby we may suppose to haue called her from heauen to dwell with vs againe vpon the earth. And sith reason cannot preuaile in vs so much, as thereby to liue iustly, godly, & holily, by Iustice it must be obtained, sith she by her lawes forewarneth, exhorteth, and correcteth vs, preparing rewardes of vertue for the good, and punishment for the euill. This iustice, (as *Ulpianus* teacheth) is a constant and perpetuall desire to giue vnto euerie man, that which to him belongeth. The ordaining of lawes is proper to Counsellors, because they are of all other men, accounted the wisest, and so the *Lacedemonians*, *Romaines*, and other people haue euer thought them. Also in the making of lawes, these things (as *Plato* teacheth) ought be obserued, that is, the law-makers should write them with a certaine fatherly loue, and no Lordly intent or tyrannicall meaning, framing them to the terror of others, and with threatnings cause them be proclaimed to the people, themselues neither obeying, nor regarding any order or lawe at all, but practise the common speech. *Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*. The law-maker ought also be carefull that the lawes containe not more prescription of commandements, then discipline of manners. The intent of euerie law-maker is, that by the lawes men may be made good and happie, and that offendours should be punished rather for necessity, than set purpose. For which cause the Emperour *Iustinian* deuided the commaundements of lawe into three. To liue honestly, to hurt no man, and giue to euerie one that which was his owne. And sith lawes doe proceede from true reason, it must needs be, that

that they doe onely respect vertue, and from it dissent nothing: because they are (as it were) rules of honestie, reason, nature, and good life. Who so therefore doth abandon lawes, is wicked: and to contemne them is no lesse euill, then to dispise nature, God, vertue and reason. *Heracitus* the *Ephesian* was wont to say, that free men ought as manfully to defend the lawes, as the walles of their Citie, for without walles a Citie might be preserved, but without lawes it cannot. In all commonweales therefore the lawes ought be obserued, and from them the rules of life, good customes, and of all things to be done or not done, must be taken. *Licurgus* and *Solon* are commended for making such lawes as prescribed not onely what was presently to be done, but also what was after to be eschewed. Which our Counsellor must consider, and doe to the end he may know by what meanes and exercises men be made good, and what is the ende of perfect life in euery commonweale. By this meane each man will apply his minde to such studies, as be agreeable to his owne nature, thinking it praisable to excell, and for excellent men the rewardes of vertue be prepared. And in trueth there is nothing so hard which men leaue vnattempted if great giftes and rewardes be thereunto due. Which onely thing doth remouue and driue away all slouth and idle life, the mother of euery vice. For by idlenes we see the mindes of men to growe wanton and perish, and as *Cato* said truly, by nothing doing; the people did learne how to doe euill. *Diodorus* writeth of a certaine lawe among the *Aegyptians*, whereby euerie subiect was compelled to giue his name to the magistrates, therewith declaring, what kinde of life he liked, how he liued, and what art he exercised.

The Aegyptians
a law against
idlenes.

And if any did tell vntruely or not performe his duetie sufficientlie was put to death. *Draco* seeing the Citizens wastfull, provided by lawe, that who so was found idle, should be put to death, which lawe (as to extreame) *Solon* did quallifie, punishing that offence with infamie onely. By the Imperiall lawes, it is provided, that some idle, slouthfull, and vnthriftie subiectes should be deprived, and eyther be whipped to death, or imployed in publique slauerie. In euerie state, there are certaine exercises aswell for peace as warre. The one education, doth breede Priestes, Counsellors, and Iudges: The other Chieftaines, Captaines and Soldiers.

The law of
Draco & *Solon*

Imperiall
lawes.

Discipline of
warre and
peace in euery
commonweale.

By

Change of
lawes danger-
ous.

The ordi-
nance of the
Locrensi a-
gainst the
change of
lawes.

The princes
life a lawe to
the people.

Lawes are
made for
two endes.

By which meanes, the commonweale shalbe furnished with subiectes, aswell for warre as peace, and by their vertue, seruices both diuine and humane may be performed, the countrie from inuasion defended, and the bonds thereof enlarged. Great care must also be taken that the lawes may not by any meanes be altered, for such mutation is alwaies accompanied with change of mens manners, & disposition. And as the nature of people is alwaies apt to innouation, so soone as one lawe is altered, forthwith they desire the alteration and subuersion of all the rest. Which thing breedeth not onely contempt of lawes, but also sedition, and mutation of the state. The ancient lawes therefore ought be obserued, and sometimes wisely corrected, and reformed. For euery mutation in the commonweale, (be it neuer so small) is a thing most perilous. Among the *Locrenses* it was prouided, that if any man did inuent a newe lawe, he should first propound the same to the people, wearing a halter about his necke, to the end that if it were thought pernicious or vnprofitable, as an author of euill, he might forthwith be hanged. *Periander* was wont to say, that olde lawes ought be obserued, and they being growne from vse, newe might be receiued. It doth also greatly profit the state, that princes and others hauing authoritie to ordaine lawes should aswell obserue them in their owne persons as compell them to be obeyed by others. For there is nothing which subiects so much behold as their Prince, whose life is looked vpon and followed as a lawe. *Selencus* made a lawe, that whosoever were taken in adultrie should loose both his eies. Afterwardes his owne sonne being found in that fault, was desired by all his subiects to pardon him: but that suite preuailed not otherwise then that first he caused one of his sonnes, an other of his owne eies, to be taken out, to the ende the seueritie and reputation of lawe might be obserued, and that the force thereof might be more regarded then the authoritie of men. The endes why lawes be ordained in euerie state are two, the one that Iustice may be entred into men, the other to continue it in them. The first appertaineth to the lawmaker, who frameth the people fit for vertue, the second belongeth to the Iudge, for he represseth the desires of offenders, and conserueth all the right appertaining to the commonweale. The Iudge (as *Aristotle* thinketh) ought from the lawmakers to receiue the lawes whereupon he should giue iudgement. First for that it is intended

one

one law-maker is of more wisdom, then many iudges. And next because he foreseeing things to come, doth determine without perturbation. Which the Iudge doth not, being subiect to affection, in that he dealeth with things present and iudgeth of persons certaine. Euen as to make good lawes and obserue them, is profitable for the state, so to determine and end contentions by lawe, is thought a thing commendable. Among men sometimes contention of doubtfull matters doth arise, whereof it behoueth the iudge to determine. The Iudge therefore is no lesse necessarie to compound controuersies in the commonweale and administer iustice, then is the soule in a liuing bodie. For being indifferent to both parties, he reduceth that to equalitie which he thinketh vnequall: not vnlike vnto a line cut into vnequall partes, that part which is to long is cut shorter and added to the other: So doth the Iudge being the liuing lawe, and as it were an Oracle in the commonweale. The Iudge ought also to account himselfe an interpreter to law-makers, a minister of iustice & his chiefe vertue must be to know what is iust and true. He ought therefore not to swerue from lawe and the meaning therof, but giue iudgement as the lawes, equitie, and iustice doth commaund: For which respect it behoueth him to be sworne, to the end God may be present to witnesse his intent and conscience, which of all other things God hath made in man most diuine. Let the Iudge likewise be free from ire and all suspicion of hope, loue, and hatred, not corruptible with giftes, not fearefull of threats, nor by flatterie abused or seduced. For where iudges are subiect to these passions, Iustice is farre remoued both from the iudiciall seate, and the Iudge himselfe: and there is nothing that infecteth the commonweale more with seditions, hate, and iniuries, then the corruption and iniustice of iudges. By good and equall iudgements, the loue vniuersall of men is preserved, quarrels, enimitie, warre, and sedition are thereby appeased: because they are in euerie state of so great force, as by good iudgements the whole commonweale doth seeme maintained, and by euill iudges subuerted. This iustice which concerneth iudgement, hath greatest power to extirpate vices in all states: for if offenders be punished, there will be no place left for violence, fraud, and audaciousnesse, presumption or iniurie.

The person of iustice was by the ancient Pholosophers painted

L

like

Qualities re-
quired in a
Iudge.

Cambises
correction of
Judges.

like vnto a faire virgin, hauing a seuer and fearefull aspect, peircing eyes, chaste and modest countenance, inclined to grauetie: which Image seemeth to represent, that Iudges ought be incorrupt and chaste, seuer, sharpe witted, good conceiuers of all things, graue, constant, & inexorable. *Cambises* king of *Persia*, caused the skin of one vniust iudge to be sleade from his bodie, and hanged vp in the place of iudgement, to the end that therby all other iudges might be warned to be iust and vpright. In like manner ought our Counsellor, to take heed that his iustice (which extendeth to all sorts of people) may be most duetifull, and that both in making and executing of lawes, he may declare himselfe a man of singuler iustice, for it were shame to him not to obserue lawes, who is the executor and maker of the: he commaundeth others, and the lawe commaundeth him: not that lawe onely which is written in bookes and tables of brasse, but the liuing lawe of reason, which remaineth in our mindes. *Solon* being asked how the commonweale might be preserued, answered, if the people obey the magistrates, and the magistrates obey the lawe. *Bias* also said, that commonweale might be best assured, where all men feared the lawes, no lesse then a Tyrant. It were a thing most inconuenient in all states, that the lawes should be reputed like the spiders webbe, to take hold of the weake or simple, and suffer the strong and mightie to passe. Of which error our Counsellor shall be heedfull, indeuouring himselfe to loue, obserue and continually be carefull howe the lawes may in violably be preserued.

The office of
a Counsellor.

For it is the true office of a Counsellor to know the lawes, and honour iustice: yet do we remember him, in the execution of lawe, to auoid ouer much seueritie & crueltie. Because extream iustice is accounted extreame iniurie, he must therefore so behaue himselfe, as the subiects may more feare his seueritie, then detest his bitternes and crueltie. Conformable seueritie (as *Cicero* saith) doth ouercome the vaine hope of clemencie. Crueltie is proper to tyrants & barbarous people, neither is there any vice in the commonweale more vile, cruell, and destable. Let the Counsellor be neither extreame, nor ouer pitifull, so as in punishing, the punishment shall not be greater then the offence. We read that in *Rome*, there were eight sortes of punishments, that is, damage, imprisonment, stripes, recompence, ignominie, exile, bondage, and death. In punishing he ought to resemble lawes, which are not disturbed

In *Rome* viii.
sortes of punishments.

bed or moued, but executeth reuenge vpon all offences, moderate-
lie and peaceably, as hating the fault, not the men. He shall also re-
member, that the more authoritie a man hath, the more moderately
he ought to vse it. Albeit that Iustice in ayding the societie of men
doth imploy the seruice of all other vertues, and is therefore called
their Queene: Yet hath she her peculiar companions, handmaidens,
and followers, which are not so common to all other vertues. The
chiefe of them is pietie, goodnes, innocencie, courtesie, gentlenes,
clemencie, friendship, and concord. With these whatsoever Sena-
tor is indued, furnished and ornified, is in all respects an absolute
and compleat professor of Iustice.

What is to
be obserued
in punishing.

Companions
of Iustice.

Through pietie we gaine the good will not onely of God but men
also, by it we are counselled to imagine no vaine, foolish, or deceipt-
full thing, thereby our words and actions doe purchase credit, be-
cause the godly man is accounted in the fauour of God, and by his
counsell to be gouerned. *Numa Pompilius* to gaine himselfe credit
in the religion which he deuised for the *Romaines* (dissembling pietie)
brought them in beliefe, that he with his wife *Ageria* vsed to meete
the Gods in a certane place sacrificed to *Camena*, and there receaued
the lawes and religion, which the *Romaines* were to liue in. They ther-
fore who neither by perswasion nor force could be reduced to religi-
on, by colour of pietie were drawen to be most religious. That re-
ligion (though fained) was profitable for the *Romaines*: but howe
much more profitable shall the same be in our Counsellor whose
religion is true, holy & sincere? What rights what ceremonies, and what
workes of pietie ought be in a Senator, is not in this place to be dis-
coursed. It sufficeth (I thinke) that each man is instructed in the
rules of true religion, whereof we haue said somewhat in our treatie
of diuine iustice. In the obseruation of pietie, two things are chiefly
to be eschewed, that is, heresie, and superstition: which vices doe
many times in weake mindes peruert true pietie. We owe also a
certaine pietie to our parents which is performed by loue & reuerence.
For to them we are bound to do all honour, seruice, & duetie: and be-
ing aged, (if need so requireth) we ought with our owne hands to helpe
them, and defend them from all misadventures. Goodnes requireth we
should be good, which is to performe the actions of vertue. Our Senator
therefore shalbe a iust and good man, and attaine to such perfection of

Pietie.

What to be
eschewed in
Pietie.

Goodnes.

Innocencie.

minde, as he will not onely refraine euill doing, but also though he would doe euill, yet he could not: so as, the prouerbe of countrie people which *Cicero* speaketh of, may be in him verified. Where it behoueth that in all his actions he doe follow vertue as a Captaine, which doing, he shall rightly performe all things belonging to the duty of an honest iust man. For nothing, recōmendeth a Counsellor more then innocencie of life, seeing thereby he shalbe euill willed of no man, feare no mā, nor be enemie to no man, but liue happy, without suspicion, feare, force, and subtiltie; sincere, perfect, true and without reproach. Of the innocencie required in a Counsellor this is the foundation: to do good to all he is able, and to hurt no man. This vertue loueth simplicitie, conioyned with prudence, allowing of nothing that is clocked, dissembled, fayned or shadowed: therefore sycophants, dissemblers, lyars, talebearers, and slanderers must be excluded from the number of Senators. It behoueth him in all his actions to deale liberally: For dissimulation is a seruile thing. As he is not rightly called innocent that hurteth a little, but he that offendeth not at all: so is he to be accounted no dissembler, that in deed is voide of all dissimulation. And like as no man entered the temple of *Ceres*. *Elucina* vnlesse he were innocent: being written vppon the doore: Let no man enter, but he that knoweth his owne innocencie; so into the holy counsell, which is temple of Iustice and truth, I wish that onely Counsellors innocent, and men of integritie should come. Let the Counsellors mind be open and sincere, not hidden, obscure, or deceiptfull, saying one thing and meaning another: but his tongue must be a true interpreter of his minde, and his face, countenance and eyes free from disguising, and full of naturall sinceritie: for such customes be common to light persons, and barbarous people, who know not how to be good men, but abuse both the office & name of men, & therefore to them either little or no credit ought to be giuen. Our Senator therefore shall not onely disallow these vices, but also contemne all those that allow them, reiecting them from his presence & companie, not hauing to do cyther priuately or publicquely with any light, vaine or babling companion. Our Counsellor shalbe also courteous to the good; for courtesie, & affable speach do greatly win the good will of all men. Let him the be willing to answer, & contented to heare, auoiding all sowernes, & insolēcy in words, gesture & motion. Let him also cōtemne squirillitie, & irreuerent mirth, moderately

Courtesie.

moderately, or seldome vsing vaine sports and youthfull pastimes. For speach not merry but graue, not subtle but true, not ridiculous but constant, becommeth a Counsellor. Vnto courtesie; grauetie becommeth a Counsellor, ought be ioyned, yet such as containeth no pride, disdain, or insolency, but that which is modest, milde, and gentle. Also for that kindnesse or benignitie is necessarie to lead an honest life, Benignitie. the example of god doth shew, that through his benignitie we are iust & happie. For as God is to vs kinde, so ought we be gentle & courteous to others: because man should be (as is commonly said) a God vnto man. Gentlenes, priuately containeth in it humilitie, temperatenes, mildnes, and a certaine sweetnes of manners and speach: and publicquely it hath clemency and moderation. Wherefore it shall become the counsellor in conuersation to be gentle, courteous and sweet, not sowre, austere and (as *Timon* was) a hater of men. Let him therefore dispose himselfe, to loue others, profit, and helpe them. For as we owe vnto God religion and pietie, so is loue and beneuolence due vnto men. Clemencie belongeth onely to magistrates and men in authoritie; for Clemencie. by force thereof their displeasure towards offendours becommeth qualified. The opposit to this vertue, is cruelty and bitter extremitie in punishing, a thing proper to Tyrants, and men void of all humanitie. *Draco* was so cruell, as by his lawes he ordained the punishment of death to be due aswell for idle life, as murther: And being asked for what cause he made the penaltie of the leaste offences, to be equall with the greatest: answered, that he thought so great a paine due vnto the leaste faults, and for the greatest he could not deuise any great enough. But with much more clemencie *Scipio* was wont to say, he had rather saue the life of one Citizen, then slea a thousand enemies. There is no vertue that maketh men so much loued as clemencie, and chiefly those that haue authority: For that vertue is most noted, which is accompanied with authoritie, and it is a thing against nature for great men to hurt others. It is therefore no lesse reprochfull in magistrates to be common punishers, then for phisitions to bury many patients. Also the gouernours clemency, doth breed in men a bashfulnes and feare to offend. Yet do I thinke that clemency and mildnes are so to be vsed that seueritie (at occasion) be not neglected. For without it no commonweale can be well gouerned. To ouermuch clemency there belongeth a certaine superfluous pitie conceiued of the aduersitie of others: which

the *Stoicks* would euerie wise man should want, saying it is the imperfection of a base minde yeelding to the nature of other mens offences: and therefore such may be resembled to foolish women that would haue theeues deliuered, because they see them shed teares in prison. Moreouer the *Stoicks* affirme, that mercy ought to respect the cause, and not the fortune wherein clemency is vsed, for that proceedeth of reason, the other should be eschewed. But omitting their opinions, we will that our Senator shalbe indued with clemency & mercie, imploying them in all things that are honest and iust.

Liberalitie.

In what sorte
things ought
to be comon.

Furthermore as the societie of men is preserued by those good gifts which proceed from a iust, sincere, and mercifull minde, so ought it also be assisted with externall furniture of fortune, as riches, possessions, and mony, such therby as well our owne, as other mens liues by giuing and taking are maintained. Also whatsoeuer nature hath made for the commoditie of man, It willeth that the same should be common for all men, yet not so, that each man should haue therein property, but that by imparting, giuing, and lending, it should (so much as reason requireth) be made common: Of which coniunction of mindes, necessities, amities, and inward good will should grow. This vertue whereby we are perswaded to giue and supply the necessities of other men, is called liberalitie, because it is a thing worthy a free man, and requireth a free minde. But for that there are diuerse degrees of mens societie, whereof some ought be preserued before others, the offices of liberalitie shalbe obserued, if we become most liberall, and beneficiall to those that are to vs nearest and most deare: wherein the order of nature is to be followed, preferring our parents, children, and kindred before others, and our friendes, before men vnknowne. And likewise our countrey men before strangers. In liberalitie heede must be taken, that we giue not more then our powre suffereth, nor lesse then the office of dignitie and humanitie requireth. For those that haue no straie in giuing, are prodigall; and they that giue nothing, be called nigardly and miserable, which vices, who so desireth to eschew (for all vices are indeed to be eschewed) let him looke to whom he giueth, when, how, what, in what place and time. For to giue vnto him that hath inough, (vnlesse ye beleue he needeth more then he hath, or doe it to shew magnificence) by so doing, liberalitie is abused. We must therefore know, what is fit to be giuen to each man, for it were vnfit to

In what sort
to be liberall.

What to es-
chew in libe-
ralitie:

giue

giue a targat into a priest, a booke to a soldier, a plow to a plough-
man. We ought therefore to giue, first things necessary, then things
profitable, and lastly things pleasant and durable. For necessitie & pro-
fit are the causes of giuing. In giuing chiefly we must be had to ho-
nestie, so to the end we abuse not the office of liberallitie, by giuinge
will things, or to euill persons. For benefites will be bestowed, as (as Ex-
m^{us} thinketh) reputed euill deeds: with (as men commonly say) he that
giueth to a person worthy, receiveth a benefite. Some men become li-
berall moyed thereto by a certaine sort of minde, which giuinge does
merit no praise, because they are not giuen as they ought be, deliberately
and with iudgement. Such gifts are commonly bestowed by vaine
and vnadvised persons. These customes are therefore to be eschew-
ed in liberalitie, and the other to be obserued. There is no
vertue that winneth the good will of men more then this. For
through it we relieue others, and make prooue of our owne
liberall, iust and well disposed minde. To be liberall, what is it else,
then to imitate God? For as he is liberall towards vs, so we should
be liberall to others. We must moreouer beware least our liberall
deeds be not performed with the spoyle of other men, for that libera-
litie which is done to harme others is greatly vniust. We must therefore
giue of such goods which are iustly gotten by our owne or others in-
dustrie: and chiefly to those, that by our giuing shall be the better, ey-
ther in studie of liberall sciences or in the discipline of warre, which
are things most profitable to commonweale. Among many errors
which men commit, those are most perilous, whereby we are so
blinded, as we neither know how to giue, nor of whome to receiue
a benefite.

Therefore difference of men is to be made, also the manners & dis-
position of each man towards vs with his worthinesought to be wayed:
for nothing is done liberally, but that which is done iustly. Neither is
the office of liberalitie exercised only by money: for some are helped
with the presence of friends, others with credit, others with fauor, others
with counsell, others with authoritie, others with labour, and such like:
which kind of benefites are most honourable, & fit for a counsellor: for the
one, cometh from the cofers of the liberall man, & the other from his ver-
tue, which cannot be exhausted or diminished. Among many other vertues
in *Scipio Africanus*, this is not the least: that he neuer returned home, but

Lawes of
liberalitie.

Magnificence

What to be
eschewed in
magnifi-
cence.

How many
ought be
vsed.

before his returne, he made some one or other man beholding vnto him. The Sonne of *Titus Vespasianus* was wont to say, that the day wherein he bestowed no benefit, was time vtterly lost. It is also the office of a liberall man to acquite a benefit with more abundance then it was receiued. In giuing, these two precepts must be obserued: to forget the benefit we giue, and remember well that we haue receiued: for the commemoration of a good turne receiued, is a kinde of exprobration, and a minde vnthankfull is odious both to God and men. We must also in giuing not be miserable, as though we were both vnwilling or sorry to giue, but doe it willingly and with a franke minde, for be it money or other thing, whatsoeuer is giuen, the same is not to be called the benefit, but the signe of the benefactors minde: Neither shalt thou obserue what, but how willingly it is giuen, for liberalitie is measured chieflie by the will of the giuer: and therefore a certaine man receiuing a benefit of an other that gaue it vnwillingly, called that gift a loafe made of stones. Next liberalitie, Magnificence followeth, which vertue consisteth in greate expences and giftes, differing from liberalitie in this onely, that the one is employed in small and meane giftes and the other in great: Magnificent men were wont to shew their vertue in building Churches, erecting cities, townes, villages, and doing all things wherby eyther God might be honoured, or their owne good fame encreased. In which actions, comelines must be obserued, and respect must also be had to the person, place, time, and matter, wherein the magnificent charge is bestowed. For it were folly for him to seeme magnificent, that wanteth both powre and iudgement to performe great matters. Let him also beware of that which is commonly said, that each mans coat must be cut according to the quantity of his cloath. And albeit that parcimonie is reputed a great reuenew, yet ought we not be so sparing as to seeme void of liberalitie, couetous, miserable, & carelesse, both of others and our selues, also, we must not only be fillers of bagges, or hoorders of coyne, as men that studie more to enrich a lasciuious heire, then profit the commonweale, friendes or kinsfolkes. Surely couetousnes is a sicknes incurable, which (as *Salustius* saith) doth effeminate both body and minde And it taketh delight in two things, that is, to giue nothing, and receiue much. Money therefore is to be vsed liberally, moderately, and in good and honest vses: alwaies reseruing somewhat, not onely for friends, phisitions, and

and foes, but also for our countrey the necessitie whereof is to be preferred before all other. They that are delighted in feasting, glotterie, and play, therein consuming their substance, the memorie whereof lasteth but one onely daie: are deuourers not onely of private but also of publique riches: they are also holden men of light minde and prodigall not onely of mony, but also of their fame, reputation and honour. Truly it behoueth the state to provide, that no man should abuse his owne riches: and therefore I thinke it good, that such men were compelled by lawe, to spare their mony from vaine expences & matters of no momēt. In Rome it was provided by law, that no Senator should be indebted aboue a certaine summe prescribed. Which order was taken to remooue excesse and superfluous charges. *P. Rufinus* was deposed from the Senate by the *Censores*, for hauing ten pounds waight of siluer. Also *Aemilius Lepidus* hauing built a house which cost six thousand pound was for that cause depriued from the Senate. A Counsellor ought therefore to liue so, as he may be magnificent and liberall, not onely of mony, but also of reputation, counsell and good will: which vertues doe conioyne the peoples mindes, breeding friendship and concord, wherewith all Cities and common places be ynited. Furthermore nature hath so ordained, as without friendship no man hath euer liued, notwithstanding he were so abundantly furnished with riches, as he wanted nothing to lead a desired life. For seeing man is a ciuill creature and louer of societie, he cannot in any wise want the vse of other mens couersation. From this fountaine all naturall amities, as mariages, consanguinities and affinities doe proceed. Nature is a louer of men, conioyning them not onely in conuersation and good will, but also binding them with obligation of blood. We see that all lawmakers haue studied for nothing more, then that by the benefit of lawes men might liue in loue & friendship, because wheresoever the rights, of amitie are esteemed, their iniurie, sedition, and hatred cannot haue force: sith in all such places, peace, tranquillitie, loue, and affection doe raine, by which meanes the inhabitantes are made happy and blessed. Who so taketh away friendship from the commonweale, doth (as it were) remooue the Sunne from the world.

Therefore commonweales receiue great good by friendship, for where it is, no ciuill dissention can arise, and all men with one assent (as it were one particuler man louing his wife) will (as *Pythagoras* saith) ioyne in loue

Excesse in
commonw.
ought be re-
strained by
lawe:

What Mag-
nificence is
in a senator,

Friendship.

What friend-
ship is,

Ciuill friend-
ship.

The best kind
of friendship.

Friendship
requireth
three things.

loue, and become as it were one man: for so much is the force of friendship, as of many it maketh one onely minde. Which friendship is, by *Lelius* defined, to be a perfect consent of things diuine and humaine, in all loue, charitie, and affection. Diuerse kindes of amitie there are, whereby men are drawne to loue one another: some do loue in respect of consanguinitie, some for allyance, some for affinite. But of ciuill amitie (wherof vertue is the foundation, and growth among men vnacquainted) the obseruation is not easie: for the diuersitie of delights doth cause that good men doe seldome concur in friendship, sith therunto time and conuersation is required: because the manners of men are often altered through aduersitie or prosperitie, age profit, losse, and honour. Each man at the first meeting is not to be receiued into friendship, for (as the prouerbe saith) men must eate manie bushels of salt together, before they become true and perfect friendes. The honest manners of men are to be diligently considered, and what fidelitie and loue we finde in our selues must be bestowed vpon our friends. The Philosophers thinke that amitie is most assured which is bred by likenes of conditions: for where mens delights be one, there desires cannot be diuerse. Such friends were *Theteeus* and *Pericleeus*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, *Orestes* and *Pilades*, *Damon* and *Pythias*. Of which two, the loue was so great, as *Dionysius* desired he might ioyne therein, and become a third. In choosing friends chiefe respect is to be had vnto vertue, for the nature of vertue is such as vertuous men doe not onely refuse the friendship of euill men, but also deeme them vnworthy to be looked on. Few friends are better then many: for perfect friendship cannot remaine in the minde of great numbers. They that are delighted with familiaritie of many, are not accounted friends, but men compinable and faire conditioned: for it is one thing to be conuersable and gentle in the entertainment of all men, and an other thing to be a friend to one whom we make a perpetuall fellow and continuall companion of our cogitations and life. *Epaminondas* was wont to say, a man ought not go from court, till such time as he had wonne some new friend to be ioyned vnto the number of his old. Which rule seemeth to serue better to gaine the common goodwill of men, then perfect friendship. Those things which for the loue of friends ought be done, should be iust, not hauing more respect to loue, then honesty. True friendship requireth three things: first vertue, from which we may neuer be remoued then

then pleasure; which consisteth in familiaritie and sweete conuersation of life: and lastly profit, wherby one friend helpeth an other with things necessarie. *Pericles* being desired by a friend to aid him with false witnes, answered he would friend him as high as the heauens, meaning, that men should aide their friends so farre as Iustice, equitie, and the lawes of God doe permit. Also it is more fit to dissuade friends from euils things, then therein to incourage them. Sometimes also contentions doe happen betweene friends, because the one contenteth not the other, and each of them doth looke forme respect at the others hand, then reason requireth: which things doe vtterly quench all amitie. Wherefore in friendship let this be specially taken heede of, that we require of our friend, not that which would content vs, but that which he may lawfully doe for vs. Which obseruation is learned in the honour due to God and parents: vnto whom, we are by no meanes able to render honour and thanks equall to their desarts: yet he that doth honour them to his power, is commonly called honest and godly. Moreouer the friendship of fooles is neuer to be desired, for the familiaritie of such men breedeth contempt. These obseruations a Counsellor ought haue in the choise of friends, whereunto himselfe shall adde diuers other, as comprehended rather by vse and custome, then by precepts: alwaies remembring neuer to sweare from iustice. He must also prouide, that by the friendship of Senators, the quiet of other subiects may be preserued: for there is nothing more noble, then that the gouernours of state, should shewe themselues friends, companions, fellowes, and well willers. For what concord or consent of subiects can be in that commonweale, were the gouernours and magistrates doe disagree? *Aristides* and *Themistocles* were enemies, yet when soeuer they ioyned in publique ambassage or commission of warre, being come to the confines of the *Athenians* land, they layed downe all contention and strife; though after their returne home, many times olde displeasure was pursued. It is the propertie of a noble & great minde to forget iniuries & contemne the: which whosoever doth for loue to the comonweale, ought be called a good & iust man: and not so to do for the safety of friends, is a part of inhumanity, barbarousnes, and rusticitie: because friendship should be immortall, and enimitie mortall. To friendship hospitalitie is a companion, for it receiueh and courteously intertaineth not onely men knowne, but also persons vnknowne, and strangers. This

How to im-
ploy friends.

Friendship
of senators.

Hospitalitie.

vertue

vertue gaineth vs not onely great praise and glory, but also reputation and honour. The priuiledges belonging to hospitalitie are so great, as the *Romaines* obserued the rights thereof to their enemies, and would neuer fight till such time as the prisoner to whom they were indebted for meate, were set at libertie. The Counsellor therefore shall not onely make estimation of friendship in himselfe, but also exhort others to doe the same. The vse of friendship in euery commonweale is great, and much greater then of iustice, if therein all men constantly would perseuer. *Plato* finding he could not bring the commonweale to happines by any vertue, reduced all lawes and customes to friendship, deuising that all things should be made common, for by meane thereof men should be retained in continuall societie, affirming that two onely words that is is to say, *mine* and *thine*, were the things which disturbed the societie of men:

Concord.

Of amitie groweth concord, being nothing else then ciuill amitie: and is as it were a conspiracie of all degrees of men, to maintaine libertie, lawe, iustice, fidelitie, religion, and quietnes in the commonweale. The chiefe hope to continue quietnesse in the commonweale, is when all men consent in all times and all things to the preservation thereof, and doe in counsell consult with vnitie and concord. Wherefore let our Counsellor be a defendour and champion of concord: For discord is the poison of all commonweales. Seeing there was neuer any Emperour, Tyrant or gouernour that preuailed against consent. Therefore the Senate of *Rome* did most commonly inhabit the house of concord, to shew thereby that in counsell, nothing should be done seditiously or contentiously, but all things performed courteously and peaceably. *Agessilaus* king of *Lacedemonia*, keing asked why *Sparta* was not inuironed with walles, informed the asker, that the Citizens liued vnited and armed, and shewing him the men said, Lo, heere are the walles of *Sparta*. *Scilurus* hauing fowrescore sonnes before his death offered them a bundle of arrows to be broken at once: they answering it were a thing impossible: he took the arrowes one by one, and brake them all, thereby warning his sonnes, to liue in concord, saying that by force therof they should be inuincible and happy. In like manner *Mycypsa* king *Numedy* being readie to die, assembled his children, and admonished them in any wise to be louers of concord, alledging the saying which neuer ought

ought be forgotten, which is : that by concord small things encrease, but by discord the greatest are consumed. The discord of Senators ought aboue all to be eschewed, lest by such example the other subiects be infected. It were dishonorable for them to spend time in chiding, and not in counselling, for there is nothing so agreeable to their calling, as loue, peace, concord, and good will: and that state is in apparant perill, where the Senate is deuided. For how should those that contend one against the other consult of peace, concord, or quietnes in the commonweale? Wherefore, eyther the contendors mindes must be reconciled, or without respect to say their mindes: for those ought be remoued from Counsell and punished, that preferre priuate hate, before publique peace and tranquillitie. In Counsell nothing should be done contentiously, vnwillingly, or seditiously. Of concord and Iustice let this we haue said suffice. Now, forsomuch as the condition of life is subiect to sundrie perils and misaduentures, so as it behoueth vs eyther to suffer, or manfully reuenge, it therefore seemeth necessarie to discourse of Fortitude, with whose weapons all assaultes of the minde and fortune are vanquished. That kinde of life which is quiet, peaceable, and assured from all perils and discommodities, is most commonly of men desired: esteeming that as singuler vertue which worketh such an effect as the professors thereof may be deliuered and made free from continuall molestation, cares, troubles, and discontentations. Notwithstanding, all men (in my opinion) be greatly deceiued, that think the life of man may be pleasantly passed without the mixture of perils & perturbatiōs. For nature hath so provided that our liues should be subiect to many mischances, and that as our bodies are disquieted with labour and toyle, so the mind should be trauelled with disoriented imaginations. Neither can there be any taste of vertue or happines, if without mishaps we alwaies did liue. For sorrowes being passed (like rest after labour) do make the fruit of felicitie much more pleasing. Vertue is not a Ladie of solatarie or idle life, but loueth labour, reioy-ceth, and triumpheth in times of perill which was the cause that *Hercules* contemned the way to pleasure, because it was large and wide, and made choise to seeke vertue, wherevnto the passage is hard, and full of difficultie. Who so desireth to enioy the possession of perfect vertue and happy life, must of force despise pleasures, disdain worldlie things, shew idlenes and be perswaded that to feare and be irresolute, is a thing,

Discord of
Counsell
da-
gerous.

Fortitude,

Fortitude an
ornament to
other vertues.

What to ef-
chew in forti-
tude.

Domesticall
Fortitude.

Fortitude mi-
litarie.

The proper-
ties of Forti-
tude.

most reprochfull. Also it becommeth vs not onely to ouercome all toyles and dangers in aspyring to vertue: but being thereof possessed, we ought with much more courage and greatnes of minde, endure all calamities, sorrowes and dangers whatsoeuer, wherein by vertue it selfe we are much aided, sith through it we are made constant, couragious, strong, and mightie: and there is nothing so hard or difficult, which the force of vertue doth not withstand, and with her powre bring vnder. This excellency of minde is called Fortitude; an affection obeying vertue by constant suffering and enduring: which is an ornament to all other vertues. For the substance and nature of Prudence, Iustice, and Temperance, is of it selfe without fortitude soft, and effeminate: For the propertie of them is to thinke and doe onely; but the qualitie of this vertue is, to thinke and execute constantly, manfully, and valiantly. This vertue is assuredly most requirable in a Counsellor, for without it he shall neuer imagine nor performe any thing noble or worthie memorie. Yet therein we must take heede neither to be foolish, hardie, proud, rash, timerse, slouthfull, or cowardlie. Who so would be valiant, it behoueth him to be so affected, as to do all things for loue to vertue, and in attempting perils be lead by reason, and not by hazard, chance, or desperation. All commendation due to Fortitude consisteth partlie in Domesticall, and partly in Publique, and militarie actions. Domesticall Fortitude doth ornesie the happines of life: and the qualitie thereof is to remooue all perturbation of mind, desire, feare, sorrow, voluptuousnes, anger, and euery other affection: possessing our mindes with tranquillitie, constancy, and comelinesse of life. Fortitude militarie consisteth in suffering all labour and perill, and chiefly in disdaining death for cause of honestie, and the quarrell of our countrey. It is therefore the office of a valiant Counsellor not to be dismayd in time of danger, induring and suffering all things which to be done, are thought honourable, and not doing them, seemeth vile, and reprochfull. The chiefe properties of a greate and valiant minde, are, to feare nothing, to contemne all worldlie thinges, and be perswaded to suffer whatsoeuer be-falleth.

Moreouer it behoueth a Counsellor to be so couragiously affected and disposed, that all his gifts of wit & minde, together with his vertues be (as with a certaine sauce) tempered with Fortitude: For as our meats
without

without fault, so all vertues wanting fortitude, are iudged vnfaerie. This is that, which defendeth both bodie and minde from all furies of misfortune. This is that, which maketh vs in Prudence quiet, in Temperance constant, and in Iustice stout; valiant, and inuincible. Wee ought therefore be alwaies valiant in minde, in enterprises resolute, in disdain magnanimous, and in suffering neuer dismaid. This vertue called fortitude, wanteth not a flocke of meane vertues companions, and followers: As, magnanimitie, constancie, patience, confidence, and securitie. It is the properie of men nobly minded, to doe and aspyre to those things which in euery vertue are thought greatest & most honourable. This vertue is chiefly knowne by aspyring to honours, for it disdaineth those whome she thinketh inferiours in vertue. The noble minded man ascendeth to honour by the stayrs of vertue, and as it were imitating the course of *Marcellus*, who of the *Siracusan* spoyle builded a temple consecrated to honour, making the passage thereunto in such sort, that no man could enter it vnlesse he first passe through the house of vertue to it adioyning: beeing perswaded there was no way open to honour but by vertue, which the noble Senator in aspyring and seeking his honour ought assuredly to beleue. Moreouer, let him contemne small imaginations: for to men of so notable vertue, no blot or touch of infamie can be imputed. He must aswell in aduersitie as prosperous fortune beare one selfe same minde, declaring the nobilitie of his valiant, and honourable heart in great and extreame dangers, and not in any wise to faint though death should therof follow: for to such men, honest death is the beginning of life, whereunto a valiant Counsellor must giue himselfe willingly for honour and immortall glories sake. The fame of *Codrus* shall liue for euer, because he, to saue his armie and cuntry, sacrificed himselfe. Also the names of *Curtius* and *Scevola*, the one casting himselfe hedlong into a deuouring pit to deliuer Rome from plague, the other burned of his owne hand, to make the enemies know that the *Romaines* were resolute in the defence of their libertie. The memorie of valiant men is hallowed with immortall honour, and by record of all Chronacles are preserved aliue for euer. It is also the part of a noble Senator to iudge truly and constantly of all things, not following the opinion of common people, who determine by chance, or as present occasion requireth. He shal likewise willingly take vpo him the defence of trueth, and therein

Followers of
fortitude.

The proper-
ties of a mag-
nanimous
Counsellor.

Taxilis.

How to take
quarrell.The Coun-
sellor no fol-
lower of each
mans fancy.

not dissemble, protesting himselfe an open enemy to all euill men, vn-
lesse he sometimes thinke good to disguise (as wise men do) being thereto
forced by necessitie, respect of persons and time. Let him willingly and
freely bestow his benefits, & vnwillingly, bashfully and discretly receiue
of others: following the aduise of *Hesiodus*, who willed, that a good turne
receaued should be reacquired with encrease: for he that receaueth is
therein inferiour to him that giueth. *Taxilis* one of the *Indian* kinges,
meeting with *Alexander* the great (as *Plutarchus* reporteth) saide vnto
him; I challenge thee, not to warre nor combat, but vnto an other
kinde of contention: if thou be our inferiour receiue a benefit, or if thou
be our superiour, bestow a good turne vpon vs, to whom (it is written)
Alexander answered: thus it becommeth vs to contend, not who should
receaue, but who can excell & ouercome an other in well deseruing, and
with those words imbraced him, & suffered him to enioy his kingdome
with encrease. The Counsellor must also be liberall of his authority &
indifferent to all men, but chiefly to those that be of meane fortune. A-
mong great personages, he shalbe magnanimious & high minded: for
in that presence to extoll himselfe, and discretly speake in his owne glory
is the qualitie of a generous mind: but in companie of inferiours to do
so, would be accounted a light part, for of the one glory, and of the o-
ther hatred, groweth. In taking quarrell or offence, he shall attend iust
cause, & honest occasion: therein shewing himself neither secret nor craf-
tie, but plaine and open. For it is the properie of a great mind to hate
apparently, & without disguising or dissembling countenance to cloke
displeasure. The magnanimious Counsellor shall rather repulse, then of-
fer iniurie, disdaining those wrongs that be done him, for it is the qua-
litie of great spirits to set light and contemne small iniuries, and a wo-
mannish thing it is to feare with anger, sith some beasts are so silly and of
so small force, as neither Elephant nor Lion will vouchsafe to offend
them. Let our Counsellor also be an earnest delighter in things
honest, and a moderate seeker for profit. His life must be gouerned
rather to his owne content, then the fancy of others, and trust rather to
the counsell of friends, then the examples of other men. Let him be
no euill conceiuour or speaker, nor willingly heare any man euil spoken
of. Neither should he be without iust cause angry or offended, for an-
ger is a seruile thing, as the Poet saith.

The second Booke.

121

*Quo quisque est maior, magis est placabilis ira:
Et faciles motus, mens generosa capit.*

Some men through a haughtie and proud arrogancie haue obscured the brightnes of their magnanimious mindes: which are chiefly those, that doe not rightly examine the duetie of their owne vertue or honour, arrogating to themselves more then becommeth good and wise men: which vice our Counsellor shall in any wise eschew: following that precept of *Tullie*, which saith, that the higher we are in authoritie, the more lowlie we ought behaue vs. For indeed arrogancy is both odious and offensiue to all men. In like manner, lightnes, viletie, and cowardice must be auoided, for he that putteth vp iniuries, and for feare or want of knowledge doth beare them, doth seeme a slaue or bondman. Some there are, who being good and wisemen, yet through faint heart and cowardice doe thinke themselves vnfit to performe great enterprises, and stand in feare to take in hand the defence of their countrie and friendes. Therefore are to be reputed fooles and slothfull.

It also becommeth a valiant Counsellor in all speeches, actions, Constancie. and aduersities (if any happen) to be constant: for a moueable and vnconstant minde more mutable then *Proteus*, is in such a man no lesse vnseemely then fraud or deceit. True it is, that things are praisable, which be taken in hand with iudgement and reason: notwithstanding, if thereunto perseuerance be not ioyned, they be accounted discommendable. The constancie of *Aristides* meriteth high commendation: for when *Dionysius* desired his daughter in mariage, he answered that he had rather see her dead, then the wife of a Tyrant: and hauing slaine her, was againe asked whether he continued in that minde said: he was sorie for the fact, but glad that he had so spoken. Who would not also admyre the constancie of *Cato*? In whom (notwithstanding the affliction of his countrie) was neuer seene any alteration, but had alwaies one cheere, one countenance, as well being repulsed and accused, as when he was *Pretor*: continuing the same constancie in cuntry, in counsell, in warre, in time of his death, and in that terrible feare, when the state was vanquished, *Cesar* armed and as victorious vsurped the commonweale. *Xantippe* was wont to say, that *Socrates* her husband returned alwaies home with the same countenance he went

V What to be
eschewed in
Constancie.

forth: for indeed such was the minde of that Philosopher, as neither with aduersitie or prosperitie it could be disturbed. It behoueth vs therefore in suffering sorrow and griefe to be firme and stable, repressing all perils of bodie and cares of minde, like vnto *Regulus* who rather then the prisoners should be restored, deliuered himselfe to the *Carthagenienses*. It is reported that when *Anaxarchus* was beaten by *Nicatorontus* Tyrant of *Cyprus*, he said vnto him, thou maist for thy pleasure persecute and torment this bodie, but my constancy of minde cannot be harmed. Notwithstanding, the Counsellor shall aboute all things take heede not to be ouer constant in matters vniust, for constancy should onely accompanie vertue. Moreouer to defend any conceipt obstinately against reason and the opinion of good and wise men, or to perseuere in trouble, for an vniust cause, is the qualitie not of a constant but a selfe willed stubborne, foolish, and peruerse minde: Constancie is also required in the choise of mans life, for who so perseuereth not in that course and trade he hath chosen and embraced, is thought in all other things worthy to want the praise of constancy. Constancie is the conseruer of all good counsels and actions: for vaine were our wise consultations, if the same should ebb and flow like the riuer of *Eurippus*. Also great constancie ought be, to keepe secret matters of counsell, for many things there spoken, are neither to be told to strangers nor domesticall friends. It is the propertie of a light and vnconstant head, to blab out mysteries done or spoken in counsell: which was the respect, that the *Romaines* consulting of great matters, would not admit the *Pedarij* Senators, nor any of the Clerks to be present, but they themselves performed that office. At the beginning, the Senate house was open to all young men that were discended of the number of *Patritij*, til after that noble & memorable part, of *Papirius* they were forbidde, least through inconstancie of youth, the secrets of state should be discouered, and thereby the commonweale damnified. *Papirius* being one day asked by his mother, of what matter so long disputation was held in Counsell, (dissembling the trueth,) answered, merely: whether it were more profitable for the state that one man should haue two wiues, or one wife haue two husbands. Moreouer, in fortitude, patience and a certaine suffering is looked for, which *Tullie* defineth, saying; patience is a voluntarie and continuall induring of aduersitie for honour or commodities sake, the vse thereof is in warre greatest. For they that be soldiers, doe often

Papirius.

Patience.

often aduenture their liues, and patiently suffer all dangers for the loue they beare to honour and profit. This vertue is also at some times necessarie for the Counsellor, when he is wearied with domesticall and publique busines: for many troubles and cares doe happen in the commonweale, which of force must be borne with patience. Surely if *Coriolanus* in his repulse, aspiring to the consullship, had vsed patience, he had thereby done more wisely, and his life should not haue beene followed with so many misaduentures. The olde saying is assuredly true: that patience is a remedie against all griefes: for things past and not recoverable may be endured, but not amended. Our Senator indued with this suffering shall easely finde a meane to digest and contemne both priuate and publique sorrowes: he that cannot endure griefe, is soft and effeminate, but who so can, is rightly called patient, yet in the vse of patience we must take order, least through the multitude & greatnes of iniuries we become distraught: for patience oftē offended & moued, prouoketh furie. Therefore griefe must be qualified with moderation of mind, and whatsoeuer necessarily must be borne, becommeth euery man to endure sith all sorrows are ouercome by patience. There is also a certaine assurance of mind, or cōcept of good successe, which many times doth make vs valiant. That vertue is called Cōfidence encouraging vs to hope well in great & honorable enterprises. Which conceipt proceedeth of wisdom, counsell, & perfect hope: For whensoeuer we haue gotten the knowledge & opinion of somthing, not hastely assenting to reason: that imagination doth draw vs on, as that which we thinke honest, & without feare resolutely we performe it: because he that is cōfident, feareth not. It is reported, that *Iulius Caesar* seeing *Caius Crastinus* prepared with good hope, to fight in the *Pharsalike* warre, asked of him what (as he thought) would be euent of that battell? wherto *Crastinus* holding vp his hand armed, said, *Cesar* thou shalt be victorious, & haue cause eyther to commend me aliue or dead: which indeed came to passe, for fighting most valiantly in that exployte he was slaine: and *Cesar* assembling all his armie, made an oration in his praise. *Aristotle* saith that men accustomed to victorie doe thereby conceiue a cōfident hope of happie proceeding. The like hope we haue by fortunate successe in other actiōs. *Plutarke* writeth that *Antonius* was alwaies accōpanied with an *Aegyptiā* Philosopher who onely by mens aspect knew the nature, felicitie, & desteny of each mā: he vsed to cōmend much the fortune of *Antonius*, but much more the

Whatto be
eschewed in
Patience.

Confidence.

Genius vita-
tor.

happines of *Octavius*: saying, that the spirit which followed *Octavius* was of more powre, then that which accompanied *Antonius*, for besides other coniectures, he so conceiued, because in gaming or fight of Cokes and quails, *Octavius* had the better hap and was more luckie. It is supposed that nature hath giuen vnto euery King, Prince, and great personage a certaine Angell to be defendor of his life, and forewarner of that he is to take in hand: which spirit *Homer* and *Plato* doth call *Genium*, other doe name it *Laris*, *Demon*, *Lemuris*, and we haue termed it *Angelus*. Which Angell doth assist valiant men in battell; and many times doth enforme them what is to be done. Of them, there are two sortes, the one good the other euill. We reade that *Vladislaus Jagelonus* king of *Polonia* in the warre of *Prussia* against the *Germanes* did see an Angell armed assisting him in fight, whome he religiously called *Diuum Stanislaum*. By reason of this fight he fought confidently, was victorious, and in despite of the Tyrants deliuered *Prussia*. *Plutarcke* writeth of an euill Angell which accompanied *Brutus*, for he vpon a time reasoning of the warre, there appeared a man of exceeding greatnes: and *Brutus* asking what he was, answered his euill spirit whom he should see in the *Philippian* warr: which seemed true, for thereby he foretold both the infortunate successe of that warre, and his death also. The *Romaines* were wont to haue confidence in the predictions of their spirits: as is appeareth by the inscriptions of the ancient *Romaine* coyne, *Genio Augusti*, *Genio Senatus*, *Genio populi Romani*, and therupon *Ouid* saith.

Et vigilant nostra, semper in urbe lares.

VVhat to
eschew in
confidence.

Securitie.

Moreouer, there is nothing better in confidence, then to trust vnto wisdom and counsell, with which confidence let our Senator be indued, to make him in euery action valient, and couragious, for all other helps and hopes doe sometimes fayle, because they are not in our power. Therefore as it is most noble, so is it also most sure to haue a confident hope in vertue. In confidence we are to eschew temeritie, foolish hardines, and desperation: which vices doe sometimes fill our mindes with a false hope of fortitude, casting vs vnadvisedly into dangers. As securitie is the ende of good life, so is it also the ende of a valient life: sith thereof commeth repose of cares and tranquillitie of

of minde. The man indued with securitie, is (as *Cicero* saith) in the same condition wherein he was before his birth. Securitie is the want of sorrow and sicknes wherein some Philosophers did thinke the happie life consisted. For loue thereof, *Democritus* and *Homer* trauelled *Egypt*, *Babylon* and *Persia*, hoping to attaine knowledge, whereby their minds instructed with diuerse sciences might become secure, perfect, and contented with ther owne fortune. The profit of securitie appeareth in the commonweale, when therein all things are peaceable, quiet, and free from perils, feares, quarrels, and troubles: which euery man calleth common happines. Yet are we to take heed, not to build our societie vpon light, vncertaine, or fallible things: neither shall we hold our selues secure by being slouthfull, carelesse, or negligent. *Pompeius* hauing a great armie and comming to fight with *Cesar*, seemed secure: yet those Captaines who feared the diligence of *Cesar* warned him to be vigilant; to whom he answered, that all was sure, and willed them to sleape on both sides. But this securitie deceaued him, for he was vanquished by *Cesar* and forced to flie. This error happeneth to many commonweales: for being vsed to long peace, they deeme themselues in securitie, which may more rightly be called slouth, cowardice, dulnes, or negligence. In such states we see all things neglected, which appertaine vnto good gouernment: eyther to withstand publike dangers, or make the subiects valiant or iust. The Empyre of *Rome* was not enlarged, so much by any meanes as by the vertue militarie; In somuch as, not onely the *Romaine* armes, but also their lawes extended farre. That Citie from the time of *Romulus* till the raigne of *Octavius Augustus*, was neuer disarmed. But *Octavius* finding the whole world in peace, caused the temple of *Ianus* (which onely in time of vniuersall peace stood open) to be shut: as though thereby the state should be euer secure from martiall tumults. *Rome* being by this meane made secure, no Emperour succeeding opened the temple of *Ianus*: so as from thenceforth the people embraced rather an idle industrious life: whereof followed, that with time, all kingdomes, countries, & cities, cast of the *Romaine* yoke, & wan vnto themselves libertie & *Rome* it self being vtterly disarmed, became subiect to the *Goths*. We therefore aduise our Counsellor to allow only of such security, as wāteth not care & prouisiō wherby peril & misfortune may be auoided. For happy is that cōmonweale which in time of peace prepareth for war. We may not now forget to discourse what reasons do perswade men to be

Publike securitie

What to be eschewed in securitie.

What men be valiant.

be valiant, and willingly imploy their persons in actions militarie. There are many that onely lead with loue to honestie and vertue, doe rather choose to hazard their bodies and liues in fight, then in time of danger to abandon their Countrie, Prince, or friends. Which commendation our countrey men may challenge, because they are willing to serue in warre, onely for honour and vertues sake. We read that the *Romaines*, *Germanes*, and *French* Captaines, at such times as they brought their soldiers to fight, did alwaies animate them with perswasions of their owne great forces, the excellency of their Generall, the vertue of their ancestors, and the spoiles of the enemies: but our chieftaines do vse none other eloquence to incourage their armie, then this, *Let each man now remember his owne vertue and reputation*: which onely perswasion sufficed the *Polonians*, whose propertie is eyther to be victorious, or die in the field. Who so therefore is so affected, as for loue to honestie and vertue will refuse none aduenture (the same being performed according to iudgement) ought iustly to be called valiant: as he that for desire of glorie and praise doth attempt all things valiantly. Which kind of men for their notable actes, ought be honoured with rewards and badges of dignitie. And albeit soldiers doe more commonly endeavour themselves to vnderstand how enemies should be vanquished, then how subiectes may be gouerned, yet being wise men, they ought be aduanced to the dignitie of Counsellors. For it is reasonable, that after much labour in seruice of their countrie, they should be clad in long robes, and enioy the benefit of ciuill tranquillitie. In *Rome*, all such soldiers were adopted Senators, as brought home any spoyle that appertained to the person of the enemy, or that did weare a garland, for sauing a Citizen by fight. Those that had borne office in the field by the space of ten yeares, were admitted to ciuill magistracie. *Regulus* being remoued from the dignity of a Senator, receiued that disgrace in so great disdain, as he tare his clothes open, and shewed the woundes of his bodie: thereby claiming a place in Senate, and recounted what martiall seruices he had done for the welfare of his countrie. Which perswasion preuailed, and he againe became remitted to his former dignitie.

The rewardes
dueto soldiers

Some there are, who lothing their owne liues & lead with a certaine desperation, do rashly aduenture themselves to dangers, imagining that therein they imitate the actions of valiant mē, alledging this poeticall speech.

What to be
eschewed in
fortitude.

Vna

Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.

The people of *Numantia*, did choose rather to slea themselves, then yeeld to the handes of mercifull enemies. The *Saguntini* were of like resolution, as *Liuius* writeth. But we ought neuer to doe any thing desperately. For who soeuer dispaireth, doth flee from Fortitude, and it is the sinne of an abiect minde through feare and cowardice, to seeke death. But a valiant man doth contemne life with iudgement, & fighteth valiantly, not as voide of all hope, but because he thinketh so doing is honest and necessary: which is the reason, he maketh choise rather to die, then dishonour his life with reproch, preferring honest death before a shamefull life. The *Peripatetians* ascribe anger to be the whetstone of Fortitude, and men being therewith lightly moued, do attempt all enterprises with more earnestnes of mind. Neuerthelesse in vse thereof, all furie and outrage must be auoided, least we seeme rather mad then valiant: which may be done, by making Ire a companion and no Captaine to Fortitude. There is nothing more vnseemely in men, (and chiefly in Counsellors) then doing all things angerly: for who so is lead with that passion, seemeth to imitate the condition of bruite beasts whose property is to reuenge in fury. In enterprising all couragious attempts, let honestie and reason march before, and anger be readieto assist them. *Plato* calleth anger the senowes of the minde, because through it the minde is stretched vp, and by mildnes let downe. Who so beginneth a warre in heat and anger, is called colloricke but not valiant, because he maketh his enterprise, moued by perturbation and not by honour or reason. Therefore the *Epicure* saith well, that immoderate Ire doth ingender madnes: and must be eschewed, not so much for loue of moderation, as healths sake. Somethere are, that attribute so much to Fortune, as armed only with that conceit, do proclame triumph before victorie; not fearing any enterprise whatsoever, which error is greatly to be reprobued. For albeit the force of Fortune be great, and greatest of all in war (because it claimeth most power in things where reason preuaileth least) yet ought we not yeeld so much to fortune, as trusting only to her, reiect all aduise & counsell: sith good Capraines being gouerned by reason, haue smal need of Fortune. *Hannibal* desiring peace of *Scipio*, vsed these words: I haue bin taught somtimes by euill & somtimes by good successe, that it is better to trust vnto reason thē fortune. Fortune doth for the most part suffer me to fal, that put their whol confidence in her

not

not mixing therewith the aide of good counsell. For nothing is more vncertaine, nothing more vnconstant nor of lesse force: and it blindeth the iudgement of those that doe not bridle her headstrong furie. Therefore let our Counsellor be (as men say) *faber sue fortune*, doing all things according to high reason and counsell: whereunto fortune will giue fauour, for she followeth reason as a shadow. *Xenophon* saith that in warre euill fortune followeth euill men, and good fortune followeth good men. *Alexander*, *Scipio*, and *Hanniball* were fortunate, yet not so much through fortune, as the benefite of vertue, wisdom and good counsell. It is the part of a wise and valiant man, to take fortune when she offereth her selfe, and imploy her according to counsell. Some men voide of experience, finding things proceed to their owne liking, doe ascribe the same to fortune: and surely not without cause: for as of beastes, so of fooles, fortune hath domination: yet no wise nor

Temperance. good man would euer make her the guide or directer of his life. Nature hath so determined, that betwixt the mindes and bodies of men, there should be a certaine fight and contention, suspending & diuerting their dispositions from the true offices of vertue. For the alluring and pleasing lustes of the bodie doe labour to oppresse the minde, and hold the same vnder: and the minde being armed and aided with reason, doth resist and repugne, all it is able. That vertue of minde which resisteth the affections and bringeth them vnder her rule, is called Temperance, commanding vs both in desiring & eschewing to follow reason. Temperance is employed in contemning of pleasures and chiefly, those that take end by taste and touching. Yet doth it not generally abhorre all pleasures, but onely such as be contrarie to vertue and reason. There are some pleasures by nature honest, and some others dishonest, and either of them as incident to the mind, as the bodie. The comprehension of all these pleasures consisteth in the senses, which are (as it were) their seruants and champions. Certainly it behoueth man to be not onely sound of bodie, but also perfect of minde: which perfection must of force be attained by the exercise of vertue. That vse of vertue which pertaineth to the bodie is called Temperance, working such effect that it yeeldeth to reason, leading a life honest and worthie a good man. The pleasures of bodie, be borne and from our birth bread vp with vs, which is the respect they are with great difficultie refrained: chiefly for those men that take more delight in the exercises of bodie then of minde; which

How perfecti-
on of man, is
attained.

which among men, is of all other things most beastly and vngracious. Therefore it standeth vs vpon that the body be bound to the obedience of the minde, and from it be neuer separate nor remoued: for such coniunction doth make men perfect. All vertues doe also make the commonweale happie, blessed, and peaceable: but Temperance alone is the keeper and prefeuer of felicitie: for it forseeeth that the state be not infected with excesse and vnreasonable pleasures, whereby many great and most notable Cities haue beene subuerted. Euerie commweale furnished with good lawes and customes, ought to take heed, least riott, and excesse should poyson the subiects, for thereof groweth couetuousnes the mother of all vices. We read that in *Rome* lawes were deuised against excesse in expences and apparrell, whereby an order of good and honest life was prescribed. The *Lacedemonians* also did keepe their feasts in publique places, to the ende that no man should dare to be wastfull in the sight of other Citizens. In old time the magistrates of *Gallia Belgica*, permitted not any custome that might make the people effeminate. At this day in some Cities of *Italie*, the libertie of immoderate expences is by law inhibited. The luste of men is insatiable, and cannot be staied but onely by the bridle of law: for it allureth the minds of all subiects, and consequently moueth them to subuert their owne countrey. The conspiratours with *Cateline* are therof an example, who being thriftles and licentious people, attempted to make warre against the commonweale. Therefore the life of euery subiect ought be trained to temperance, prouiding that the state do not abound with excesse: for by that meane the cōmon quiet, the happines of subiects, their welfare, health, and substances shalbe preserved, and they at all occasions be ready to take armes for their country, not fearing either want of wealth, nor excesse of pleasure: which two, do many times bring Cities into seruitude. It also standeth the state vpon, to forsee that the life of subiects be neither in priuate or publique, intemperate, nor that any man should abuse welth and substance. A temperate & moderate life in priuate men, is an ornament of common foelicitie. Insolency of life is therefore to be suppressed, for from thence as the head, all conductes of mischief do take their beginning. And the Counsellor himselfe ought to be no lesse free from intemperancy, then he would haue others. Wherin let him imitate the seuerity of the *Censors*, who in old time were the masters of ciuill tēperance & modesty. He shall therefore aswell by priuate

Temperance
the prefeuer
of ciuill fel-
icitie.

The followers
of Temperance

admonition as publique correction, reduce them from intemperancie, for the punishment due thereto ought be grieuous. By the benefit of Temperancie we become modest, bashfull, honest, and continent: Through which vertue, the happie life of man is beautified, encreased, and enlarged. Modestie (as the *Stoicks* affirme) is a vertue that containeth the knowledge of all things to be done or spoken. For in euery speech and action a measure ought be obserued, least we doe speake more, then necessitie requireth, forgetting the Counsell of *Solon*, *ne quid nimis*. But therein time is to be obserued, and a fit opportunitie awaited: for actions not well vsed, are oft times the cause of many inconvenients. Let comelines therefore be kept in all actions and speeches, framing our countenance, eyes, gesture, motion, (& in briebe) the whole bodie to modesty: so that therby we may seeme to haue an honest, plaine, & stable intent. We are somtimes also recommended by Bashfulness, which is that vertue that conserueth honest life: because in all actions it shunneth reproch & villany. And as Iustice comandeth that no man should be spoiled, so bashfulness biddeth that no man should be offended: for a good man refraineth from iniury, not onely wilingly, but is also terrefied with bashfulness. Yet do I not require in our Counsellor that bashfulness which is peculier to yong men, or offenders. Because such persons are most commonly against their will bashfull, and ashamed. That perturbation of mind doth misbecome a graue & temperate man. But the bashfulness we seeke for, doth imitate vertue: and therby a certaine habit and exercise of eschewing euill; so as, if at any time through ignorance error be committed, we are therof ashamed, which is very commendable. *Iulius Caesar* fighting with the yonger *Pompeius* at *Corduba*, and seeing his soldiers readie to runne away, passed forth before the foremost ranke, & there most valiantly fought in person: which the soldiers seing, could not for shame but turne face to the enemy, prouoked partly with the the valure of the generall, & partly with their owne shamefastnes

Modestie.

Bashfulness.

Two sorts of
bashfulness.

Honestie.

There is in the capacities of men a certaine instinct of honesty wherewith they are compelled to perform things honest & flie from their contraries. Also all the meanes to attaine vnto knowledge of honesty proceedeth from vertue, & therein her excellency & dignity resteth, which may somtimes proceed of common fame, glory, and opinion. Moreouer who so through diligence and obseruation, knoweth what is measure, order, and grauetie, performing in wordes and workes, that beauty, sweetness, and rule, taking heede not to doe or thinke anie thing vnseeme-

vnseemely, effeminately, or licentiously, is thereby made honest. And the force of honestie is so great, as it alone sufficeth to diuert men from all shamefull life and euill actions.

Among the praises due to Counsellors for their good conuersation, Continencie
& abstinencie continencie and abstinencie doe challenge no meane place. For they commaund not onely to contemne the inticements of desires, but also staie our mindes, our eies, and our handes from following vnreasonable affections. There is no spectacle of life more noble, then to see men contented with their owne and not couet things appertaining vnto others. *Paulus Emilius* is commended, for that of all the treasure which was brought from *Macedon* and *Spaine*, he conuerted no part to his priuate vse, but deliuered all into the publique Threasurie, choosling rather to abstaine and continue poore, then become rich by deceauing. For after death, his goods being sold vnder the Launce (as the custome was) there wanted whereof his wife might be sustained. The example of *Scipio Affricanus* his continency is most admirable: he being but twentie yeares of age at the taking of *Carthage*, found there (among many other captiues) one maiden of most excellent beautie; yet would he not touch hir virginie, but deliuered her vnto an husband whom she was before betrothed vnto: and gaue her in mariage all that golde which her friends offered, to redeeme her. I omit to speeke of *Alexander* the great, and many others, who gained no lesse glorie by continency, then martiall triumphes. We will therefore that our counsellor should be continent, following the counsell which *Pericles* vsed to his companion *Sophocles* and pretor in *Rome* beholding and commending the beautie of a young woman whom they met in their waie towards the Senate house: saying. It becommeth a Pretor to haue not onely hands free from corruption, but also continent eyes voyd of vnchast looks. It was therefore thought to be wisely done of *Cato* the *Sensor*, to remoue *L. Quintus Flaminius* from the Senate for his incotincy: Because he being Consull in *Fraunce* was intreated by a harlot, that without offence, she might strike a prisoner condemned to die. *Manlius* was also deposed from that dignitie, because he kissed his owne wife in the presence of her daughter. Likewise *Salustius* for adultery and light conditions, was depriued the Senate. Surely there is nothing that doth more dishonor the dignitie of a Counsellor then incontinency & lewde

life: because it procureth priuate reproch and blemisheth the maiestie of commaunding. *Sardanapalus* consumed whole daies in the nurserie among women, sparing no time from incontinent exercises: As appeareth by the Epitaph, which liuing he commaunded to be written on his tombe.

Ede, Bibe, Lude.

Aristotle chancing to finde the Epitaph, staied, and read the first part thereof, and smiling said: A man would thinke, this writing fitter to be fixed to the graue of an oxe, then writtē vpon the tombe of a Prince? And hauing perused the three last verses: said further, that *Sardanapalus* enjoyed that, being dead, which liuing he neuer hād but so long as he was in feeding his paunch. All pleasures not being reduced to necessitie and honestie, are reprochfull: and aboue the rest, those two which are taken by touching and tasting, doe draw men most to offend in vice, and vncleannes. A counsellor therefore ought to be carefull, that the life of subiectes be not tumbled into this myre of voluptuousnes and foule delights, but that all things may be done with shamefastnes and honestie. All dishonest and vnlawfull delightes should be extirped, and likewise all occasions and opportunities whereby the people are trained to liue dishonestly, shamelessly, wickedly, and intemperately ought be removed. The *Lacedemonians* were wont to shew their drunken seruants vnto their children, to the ende that they (lothing their vile gestures and beastialitie) might auoide the vice of much drinking. But would God we were as willing to follow, as remember those ancient customes. Great was the moderation and temperance which our ancestors vsed in their diet: for they liued not to eate, but dideate to liue. In these daies, the plague of intemperance is growne so great, as more men perish by incontinencie and gluttonie, then by force or fury of warre. Also in some nations men take no delight but onely in drinking. Who would not then commend *M. Curius* the Romaine Senator, that was content the embassadours sent by the *Samnites* should finde him homely set at supper by his fire, drinking in a cup of wood: and there refused the golde which they did present him: saying, I had hather command rich men, then be a rich man my selfe. I speake not of *Fabricius*, *Tubero*, *Fabius*, *Cato*, and *Scipio*, whose temperate and sober life hath beene

beene by immortall fame preſerued. *Hortentius* was much reprooued for that he, at a ſupper (prepared for the *Auguri*) ſet before his gueſts a boyled peacocke: likewise *Cassius* was deemed intemperate, becauſe publiquely he dranke water, and could not endure thirſt for a ſhort time. *Duronius* was alſo remoued from the Senate, for that he being Tribune, he caſſed the lawe concerning the reſtrainte of feaſting. Surely the *Romaine* ſtate was happy in hauing ſuch Senators as were not onely princes of Counſell, but alſo maſters of good manners and vertues. Whereof may be coniectured how temperate the people of *Rome* were in thoſe daies. It is reported that when the preſents which *Pirrus* king of *Epirus* (after his ouerthrow) were brought vnto *Rome*, and ſhewed about the ſtreets: hoping thereby to winne good will of the people, there was not one man ſeene to put out his hand towards them: ſo as that king found himſelfe no leſſe vanquiſhed with continencie then force of armes. But when exceſſe, after the victorie of *Aſia*, had entred *Rome*, and that through plentie and idlenes, the peoples mindes began to grow wanton, ſodainly that ciuill diſcipline of temperancie, parcimonie, and ſocietie, were extinguished: and in lieu therof, couetuoſnes accompanied with all miſchiefes poſſeſſed the Citie, which (as *Saluſt* ſaith) way the very cauſe that deſtroyed the *Romaine* empyre. The Counſellor therefore muſt foreſee that in the common-weale exceſſe may not long indure: becauſe it peruerteth publique peace, and maketh the ſubiects ſoft, effeminate, miſerable and needy. *Diogenes* hearing that the houſe of a certaine prodigall man was offred to ſale; ſaid, I knew well that houſe was ſo full of meate and wine, as (or long) it would vomit out the maſter. The Counſellor ſhall alſo eſchew nothing more in his owne perſon, then immoderate eating and drinking: becauſe it conſumeth the force both of bodie and minde. Notable is that lawe of *Solon*, which iudgeth a drunken prince wor-thie of death. *Philip* king of *Macedon* being diſguiſed with drinke, gaue iudgement againſt a woman: ſhe furthwith appealed, and being asked to whom? answered to king *Philip* when he is ſober. Certainly the force of wine taketh away all iudgement in man; in ſo much as thereby kings are made ſeruants, olde men become children, wiſe folkes are turned to fooles, and fooles changed to mad men. The Counſellor therefore ſhall obſerue meaſure, and drinke for neceſſitie, not for ſocietie: following the counſell of *Anachariſis*, who ſaid that the firſt

Order and
rule of mans
life.

draught was of necessitie, the second of superfluitie, and the third of madnes. It were most vnseemely in a Senator to haue a countenance full of furie, eyes full of anger, and speech full of pride, all which doe accompanie dronkennes: and as euill it will become him being ouercharged with meate and wine to consume the whole night in sleaping. But how much good diet helpeth to preserue health, & prepare the bodie to action, we may learne by experience. For by moderate diet we finde not onely the minde, but the bodie also more obedient, but facietie, and fulnes of belly, is no other, then a sepulture to a liuing minde. It therfore beseemeth a Senator not onely priuately, but also publique-ly to obserue parcimonie and frugalitie. Yet heed must be taken, least he seeme ouersparing, hard, or straight in expence: for it is the proper-
tie of a base and abiekt minde to abuse comelines and honour in his li-
uing. Therefore priuate excesse shalbe banished, and publique magni-
ficence retained: needlesse delicacy, but (much more) misery and ni-
gardlines must be auoided. For as immoderate expences be hurtfull,
so necessarie and conuenient fare is honest and wholsome. Respect
is also to be had to the place, the time, and persons: waying there-
withall, what belongeth to priuate and publique honestie, dignitie, and
profit, not neglecting the change of exercises and honest pleasures.
L. Tubero making a publique feast, couered all his beds with the skins
of kids, and for so doing was thought indiscrete, and ignorant in things
belonging to publique honour and reputation: also for the same was
deposed from the office of *Pretor*. But of Temperancy let this suffice
which we haue hitherto spoken: Let vs now (sith the time and order
of our matter so requireth) intreat of the goods of bodie and fortune,
wherewith the felicitie of a Counsellor is not onely ornished but also
made perfect. For so much as the bodie of man, is, (as it were) a dwel-
ling place, and tabernacle of his mind, it behoueth vs and our liues
to be furnished no lesse with the perfections of minde, then of bodie.
For as the actions of vertue cannot be exercised by a weake bodie, so
the bodie wanteth power to performe his duetie, being gouerned by an
imperfect minde. These two are so coopled and conioyned together,
that as the Master without a seruant, so the minde may not execute his
duetie without obedience of the bodie. Therefore the philosophers
writing of pollicy, doe conioyne the exercises of bodie and minde, as
though men imperfect eyther in bodie or mind were improfitable in the
societie

societie of men. Euen as ciuill discipline and good lawes doe worke the perfection of minde: so nature (chiefly ioyned with exercise) doth make the soundnes of bodie: which is conserued by phisicke. Therefore in commonweales well gouerned certaine lawes and ages for marriage ought be prescribed & likewise education ordained for children, to theende they may be informed in ciuill discipline. So as by nature and art, the people may become both of minde and bodie most perfect. But sith heretofore we haue discoursed of the qualities of mind, and the perfections thereof: it resteth now to speake of those qualities of bodie which ought to be in a Counsellor. For it behoueth him much to be as perfect in bodie as of minde. True it is, and that trueth by learned men confirmed, that the felicitie of man, cannot be defended with the vertues of minde onely, but needeth also vnto the perfection therof, externall commodities. Which albeit are not by themselves laudable; yet because vertue is knowne in their vse and moderation, they ought greatly to be desired. The goods of the bodie do seeme to consist partly in the whole bodie, and partly in particuler members: for health, beautie, strength and soundnesse, are required in the whole bodie: but perfect sence, and nimblenes of legs and hands, are wished for onely in some parts. As there is a society and consent of body and minde, so is there a certaine liking and correspondence betwixt the vertues of bodie and minde. Health resemblenth Iustice: because it reduceth the diuerse constitution of bodie to an equall temperance: so beautie is likened to Temperance: and they both conspire in the perfections of bodie & mind. Strength is compared to fortitude, because in the enduring of labour & danger, the one of the doth aide the other. Soundnes of bodie is likened to Prudence: For as Prudence doth reconcile all opinions and iudgements, euen so, in a sound bodie, all partes doe ioyne and make one perfect bodie. How much health auaieth to lead a good and happy life, experience teacheth. For there is nothing that we can doe or thinke, but therein good health doth helpe vs, and the want thereof doth hinder vs. We will therefore that our Counsellor should be healthie, for thereby he may the better attend publique affaires, vse the exercises of bodie, & lead a quiet and contented life, free from grieffe & all sorts of sorrow. The first cause of health, is God, the maker of all bodies: the second good diet and exercise. For great regard must be had, least health be taken

How perfection of mind and bodie is attained,

Perfection of bodie.

Health.

taken away by negligence or intemperancie. Health (as *Cicero* saith) is maintained by knowing a mans owne bodie, and obseruing of those things, which agree, or disagree with nature: also by being continent, in diet, apparrell, and contempt of pleasures: whatsoever else appertaineth to this matter, must be learned of *Galen* and *Hippocrates*. *Dio- genes* was wont to laugh those to scorne that by sacrifice sought for health of the gods, and notwithstanding lead an intemperate life. A good constitution of bodie is also commendable in a Counsellor: Let him therefore eyther be (as the phisicians doe terme it) sanguine, or colloricke: for those humors doe make men apt for vertue: and such persons are commonly wittie, docible, healthie, and of good memories. *Aristotle* calleth melancholy men wittie, for being inclined to anger they are disposed to haue in them certaine diuine thoughts and deepe cogitations. Notwithstanding we vtterly exclude them from counsell, as men vnmeet for affaires of state, because their liues are, for the most part, gouerned by melancholy and not by wisdom. The humor most abounding in that complexion, is cold and drie; which maketh their cogitations to be solitarie, inclined to enuie, sowernesse, sadnesse, and sorrow. *Cicero* reading that place of *Aristotle* which calleth melancholy men ingenious, smiling said, that he reioyced much that nature had made him dull witted and not melancholy. *Cesar* being warned to beware of a certaine fat, merry, and liberall speaker, answered that such men were not to be feared, but those rather that were sad of swarfe complexion and leane; pointing to *Brutus* and *Cassius*. We also mislike that any flegmaticke person should be so much as the *Romaines* called him *Pedarinus Senator*: least his humor be offensive to all the rest: For as the motion of flegmatike bodies, is slowe, and heauie, so likewise is their disposition of minde. Also good proportion or comelines doth recommend, not onely the bodie, but also the minde, so as, it seemeth, the Poet said well.

What tem-
perature of
bodie, is best.

Gratior est pulchro ueniens e corpore uirtus.

We wish therefore that our Counsellor should be a seemly personage: I call comelines, a manly & not effeminate body. This vertue is perceiued in the features of bodie, face, and countenance. Let him therefore be neither huge nor small of stature, but of the meane size. In long
bodies

Comelines of
person requi-
red in a coun.

bodies (as *Aristotle* saith) there is no great vertue, and in short personages, as little. Moreouer, his bodie should not be exceeding grosse, nor exceeding leane and drie, for the one is apt for trauell, the other ouerweake to indure paine. We also commonly take heede of those whom nature hath marked by defect of any member, as they that are lame of one legge, squinteyde, or deformed in person: for such men are accounted craftie and subtrill. Neuerthelesse, if any such personage be knownen for good, and by the excellency of vertue hath overcome the imperfection of nature; then shall he deseruingly be admitted to the dignitie of Counsellors. The proportion of face or visage, is much beautified by good collour or complexion, which oftentimes bewraith the secret conceits of mind. Our inward disposition is also sometimes knownen by the outward collour of skin. *Philopemen* a notable Captaine Philopemen of the *Acheans*, was an euill fauored man, and being taken prisoner, was forced to curwood. Afterwards he became knownen, and saide; that he suffered the punishment due to his deformitie. We therefore commend a graue & pleasant face in our Counsellor: and allow most of such eies as are sweet & not cruell; for that countenance is fittest for men of such qualitie. Yet is not the coniecture we haue by the features of bodie so certaine, as thereby we may exactly iudge the vertue of mind: for many there are, whose persons be not beautifull, yet in mind are vertuous men, that is to say, iust, prudent, & temperate. The mind is not blemished by deformitie of bodie, but by beauty of mind the bodie is beautified. Vertue is not bound eyther to a beautifull or deformed body, but is of it selfe comely, and doth grace all bodies with beautie therof. And therefore it behoueth vs in knowing of men, to vse not onely eyes, but also iudgement: euen so not onely the person countenance & eyes of a Counsellor, but also the whole face of a Counsellors minde ought be considered & preferred before all beautie & good proportion of bodie. All these things may be wished for the perfection of men, but are not commonly looked for. A Counsellor ought also to be comly apparelled according to the dignitie of his office: for seemely garments doe adde a reuerence to his person, increasing, and ornifying the worthines both of mind and body. It is therefore requisite, that by his apparrell he should be known to differ frō other men, which custome is in all well governed cōmonweals obserued. The Senators of *Rome* vsed a garment set full of studs or tufts of gold, and on their hose they weare like vnto
a moone

How a Counsellor should be apparelled.

Latus clauus.

Calcei lunars.

a moone, which were the cognisants or badges of most honour. That kind of ornament, the *Romaines* seeme to haue receiued from other nations. For *Esaias* the prophet foretold the noble women of *Iudaea*, that God would take away those moones and ornaments of hose. *Plutarch* alleageth sower causes, why the *Romaines* were such hose: which to delight the reader, I wil recyte. The first was, because they thought that the soules of great men should by light of the moone be guided the next waie vnto heauen. The second reason that moued them, was that the signe of the moone, did shew they were discended from the *Archadians*, who came into *Italie* with *Euander*, for the *Archadians* did imagine themselves more ancient then the moone. The third cause why they wore the moone was, to the ende, that in prosperitie they should remember the inconstancie and mutabilitie of Fortune: For as the moone most commonly is in parte lightened and in parte darkened, so no honour or felicitie of men, can be so perpetuall, but is sometimes obscured or extinguished. The fourth cause was, for that the signe of the moone, doth stirre vp mens mindes to modestie and obedience: mouing them to pray vnto God for wisedome, whereby both to commaund and obey: euen as the moone doth take her brightnes from the sunne, being a more noble and excellent light, so ought men to seeke for wisedome from heauen. Others doe fable and affirme, that the Senators of *Rome* were not the image of the moone, but the proportion of the letter *C*, as though the hundereth whom *Romulus* did choose to be, (as he called them) *Patres* should thereof take their title. In good commonweales the vse hath euer beene, that a difference of estates and degrees of men, should both by lawe and vse be knowne by the peoples garments: and that custome is assuredly of much moment to make them constant in their professions, and in the couersation of common tranquillitie. Which was also the reason, that among the *Romaines* no man might weare purple, but onely Senators, Magistrates, Priestes, and youngmen of noble families. I omitto speake of rings, chaines, and bracelets which were giuen to men of vertue, aduanced to dignitie. How these customes are in these daies obserued, it sufficiently appeareth: for we may behold a greate alteration not onely of vertues and manners, but of times also: sith the garments of soldiers, magistrates, and senators, doe not differ from the habite of seruantes, marchantes, artisans, and plowemen.

True

The degrees
of men
ought be
known by
their appar-
rell.

True it is, that the vertue and condition of men is not bound to any badge or ornament: yet is he thereby put in mind, with more diligence to maintaine and exercise the office belonging to his dignitie. For Sep- ters, Crownes, Cheynes, Rings, Gownes, Robes, and Saddles; are no dignities, but the badges of dignitie, wherewith men are stirred vp to performe and doe honour to the office and place whereunto that badge belongeth. *Romulus* (as *Liuius* writeth) intending to gouerne a newe people, apparrelled himselfe with an habit of maiestie, and called twelue *Littori* with mases, to attend vpon his person, thereby to appeare with more reputation, and reuerence. It shall therefore become our Counsellor to be apparrelled according to his grauetie, honour, and dignitie: taking heede that his garments doe not promise any varietie, lightnes, or inconstancy. He must euer obserue therein a certaine comely neatnes, such as becometh men and not women; not exquisite or curious, but comely and manly, yet void of rusticity. Let him also in all motions, gestures, standings, goings, sittings & lyings, frame a good grace and grauetie becoming a Counsellor. It is also very necessary, that he be strong of bodie, well knit, and manly proportioned. Which things because they proceede from nature, he shall be more carefull in vsing and conseruing them, then diligent in attaining vnto them. Strength is commonly in those men that be sound, nimble, and firme fleshed: which things with age doe naturally encrease and decrease: for young men are strong and mightie, but olde men be broken and feeble. And for so much as, the force of minde is more requisite in a Senator then the strength of bodie: therefore we desire not in him the force of a gyant, but conuenient and reasonable strength. *Milo* being growne olde, beholding certaine wrestlers contending in strength, looked vpon his owne loynes weping, and called them dead: because (as I thinke) his whole vertue and honour rested in the strength of his bodie, We are now to discourse, what age is most fit for the perfection both of bodie and minde, and of what yeares a Counsellor ought be. They that haue desired the length of mans life, doe confine the same within a certaine proportion of time. *Plato* assigneth eightie one yeares, *Solon* eightie, and others ascribe the life of man to be determined within seauentie yeares: because they referre all to the number of seauen, sith euerie seauenth yeare some mutation of bodie appeareth. The first seuen years

The

Badges of
honour.

Strength of
bodie.

The age of a
Counsellor.

the teeth of children doe fall: the next seauen yeares, their heare doth grow, the third, their bodie is at the longest: the fourth, their bredth: the fift, they are strongest: the sixt, desirous of pleasure, the seauenth wise, the eight aged, the ninth feeble, and the tenth prepared for death. Others affirme that the change in mans life is euery nine yeares: and some ascribeth alteration therof at euery vnequall number till twentie and one. *Pythagoras* called the eightie yeare of mans life, fatall deuiding the same into fower times twentie: so as childhood should last till twentie, youth other twentie, mans estate other twentie, and olde age doth determine all, after the fourth twentie: comparing it to the foure seasons of the yeare: the spring time was likened to children, sommer to young men, Autume to ripe age, and winter to old folke. *Varro* maketh fise degrees of mans age, including euery of them into fiveteene: as though childhood lasted till the ende of fiveteene yeares, for so long children are tender and without hare: youth till thirtie, because till that time man increaseth in length and bredth. Ripe age induced till fortie fise, for so long the strength of bodie abideth, and men are able for armes and all other publique actions: olde age beginneth at threescore, for then the bodie wasteth and groweth ripe. With this opinion we thinke good to concur: but the distinction of ages by number, doth chiefly appertaine to phisitions, for they in their fomentations and medecines, doe obserue certaine particuler and speciall daies. But our opinion is that the fortie fise yeare of mans age is most meete for counsell, because about that time, man is of most force both in bodie and minde. Besides, that age is the middest of mans life, then in the ripenes both of bodie and minde. At that time (being the middest of mans life) the minde is not drawne with desires, not transported with youthfull furie, not subiect to affections: but perfect of iudgement, counsell, and experience of all things. When *Rome* flourished, the Senators were chosen of that age: because those yeares were accounted apt for counsell, in respect the heate of youth was cooled, and the minde attained to perfection: for as the perfection of bodie commeth by age, so is the minde thereby made ripe in wisdom and experience. Yet denie I not that many men are olde at thirtie yeares, that is to say, they be then both prudent and wise, for they desiring to be olde long, begin soone to be graue. We read that in *Rome* diuers were made Senators before the thirtie yeare of their life, which we also allow: For men may be re-
puted

Critici vel iur-
ditiarii dics.

puted olde, as well in respect of vertue, as age. Yet care must be taken, That the state be chiefly gouerned by olde men, for *Plutarch* saith, that commonweale proueth happie, wherein is plentie of yong mens Lances, and olde mens Counsels. The saying of *Euripides* is also notable.

The commonweale chiefly to be gouerned by olde men.

*Dictum est vetustum, facta iuuenum, ceterum
magis valent consilia senum.*

In *Athens* no man was created a Counsellor before fiftie yeares of age, and in *Rome* it was lawfull for any man of sixtie yeares to come into the Senate, although he had neuer bene elected a Senator, and after that yeare he had liberty to come or not at his pleasure. In that point therefore the custome of each commonweale must be obserued, and euery Counsellor (though he were in age euen with *Nestor*) ought to endeouour himselfe at all times and in all places to employ his power for the Commonweale. *Plato* saith, that men should learne, till they be so aged, as one foote is entred the graue: but why doth it not become them as well to counsell and serue their countrey? Notwithstanding we forbid men much aged, decrepit, and decayed as well in minde as body, to giue counsell. Because their counsels be commonly doubtfull, and their iudgements are rather coniectures then affirmations, alwaies vsing these wordes, perchance and perhaps. The cause thereof is, that they haue proued sundrie perrils, and are affraid to feele them againe. Now for so much as the felicitie of man without externall goods cannot be absolute: therefore they are for a Senator of much necessitie, as well to ornesie his estate and dignitie, as the more commodiously to performe the actions of vertue. Vpon this point, the philosophers doe greately contend: for some of them doe exclude the goods of Fortune: and others affirme the possession of Fortunes gistes to be of necessitie in mans felicitie. Both which opinions are true, if we consider the condition and ende of each mans life. For they that affect priuate felicitie, haue none or very little need of Fortune: but others that doe exercise vertue publicquely, liuing in the societie of men and gouerne the commonweale, cannot without the goods of Fortune performe any great, notable, or liberall action. Therefore riches, lands, and possessions are of necessitie for a ciuill man & magistrate: as well to exercise the offices of vertue, as to relieue the people, and repulse iniuries.

The qualitie of decrepit age.

Goods of Fortune requisite for a Counsellor.

The felicitie
of Alexand.
and Diogenes
diuers.

Good parent-
age requi-
red in a Coun-
sellor.

New nobility.

ries: so as it is apparant, that without externall goods euery state is miserable and vnhappie. Me thinks therefore, the philosophers had done more wisely, if they had disputed of the vse of riches, and not of riches it selfe, deuinding felicitie according to the condition of persons. For it is not felicitie, but the life of man, which needeth things requirable to the sustentation of life. Whereof the condition being diuerse, it behoueth each man aboute all things, to know the state of his life & felicitie, possessing so much substance as is thought necessarie to liue well and happely. For which respect, the felicitie of *Diogenes* was farre other, then the felicitie of great *Alexander*: the one was poore, the other rich: the whole world could not suffice the one, the other was contented with a silly cabin. Their orders of life were diuerse, so was also their felicitie: yet were they both philosophers, but the one delighted in priuate felicitie, and the other affected publique happines: this ought be commended, the other not dispraised. That course of life is to be followed imbraced and retained, whereunto God, nature, election or will hath called vs: and the same should be ornified, as vertue, reason, God, and nature it selfe requireth. Which is the cause, that some had rather be poore then rich, learned them wealthie, priuate then publique, soldiers then priests: for for each man esteemeth the life he best liketh. But for so much as the life and felicitie of a Counsellor is laid open to the face and sight of the commonweale: it behoueth him in any wise to be furnished with the goods of Fortune, as, good parentage, honour, glorie, fame, friends kinsfolke, children, riches, and money. I with the parentage of a Counsellor should be good, for that many times of honest parents good children be gotten. Let him therefore be borne a gentleman, and discended from a stocke or house of nobilitie or gentry: for that honour left from his ancestors, was giuen by the commonweale, to the ende that at occasions he should with the more fidelitie fight for his countrey. There was a lawe in *Rome*, whereby Senators were forbidden to marry women that had beene slaues. Neither was it lawfull for any gentlewoman to take a husband of base parentage, or that was discended from such parents as exercised any mistery or gainfull traffique. Yet do I not dislike of those that take the badges of honor from theselues, and make the foundation of their nobilitie vpon their owne vertue. For vertue entreateth both new and ancient men after one fashion, for she refuseth none that resorteth vnto her for honour. It is reported that

Cato

Cato being in contention with *Scipio Affricanus*, said merely, that *Rome* would become glorious, if great noble men, did not yeeld the chiefe part of vertue vnto their inferiours: and contrariwise, if the multitude (whereof he was one) did contend in vertue with those that were noble in parentage. Moreouer touching the beginning and originall gentrie is to be considered, who is in deed aspired to honour by the right degrees of vertue, for the new gentleman ought not be accounted inferiour to the olde, if he be aduanced for no light or fained vertue, but is made noble in reward of his great, laboursome, and honest industrie. How new nobilitie is commendable. In consideration whereof, the vertue militarie and the vertue of wisdom & counsell, be preferred before all contēplatiue vertues, wealth & riches. In euery commonweale two rewards are prepared for vertue: the one is honour, the other glorie: which who so hath, cannot be called unfortunate. Honour consisteth partly in hauing authoritie and office, and partly in the reputation which is giuen by great and notable men for the excellent vertue they thinke to be in him who is honoured. *Tullius* saich, that is true honour, which is giuen to noble men, not in hope to haue benefit from them, but for their excellent deserts. Who so therefore desireth honour, must not onely attaine therunto by shewing olde painted armes or images engraued in brasse, but by his owne vertue; whereunto the true and euerlasting rewardes are belonging. *Cato* seeing *Rome* filled with the portraitures of noble men, refused to haue any made of him, saying, he had rather men should aske why he had none, then why he stood there. For the honour due to vertue, ought be perpetuall and euerlasting: not fading or subiect to ruine. Of three hundred portraitures set vp for king *Demetrius*, not one was by time decayed, nor by negligence defaced; but in his owne life they were all turned vpside downe. Yet a counsellor ought to desire glory, Glorie, as the most notable reward of vertue. And he is in glory most excellent, that passeth all others in vertue. *Thesius* asked of the Gods three things, that is, good fortune, want of inward sorrow, and such glory as was neither false, counterfeite, nor fained. Who so seeketh glorie for vertue, and noble acts, doth not commit any thing dishonourable, eyther towards himselfe or others: because he measureth his fame and dignitie by vertue and iudgement. It is the propertie of men well borne Fame, and liberally brought vp, to desire the good report of his countrey, strangers, friends, and leaue good fame to his posteritie by consent of

all honest people. All men therefore (but chiefly Counsellors) must take heede, least they make any euill impression to deface their good name or fame, for seldome eyther in time present, or age to come, by vertue of posteritie it can be cancelled. For time speaketh, and fame is neuer silent, also libertie of tongue remaineth to thinke and pronounce the sayings and actions of other men. Moreouer we onely doe not reape the fruite of good fame, but our neighbours, friends, and children are thereof partakers: in so much as all people and their posteritie doe commend vs, admyring our liues, and extolling the time wherein we liued, the commonweale where we gouerned, and the lawes by vs ordained. In our owne life time it behooueth vs to doe the like, least vertue, faith and religion doe seeme in vs altered and extinguished, or that our posteritie should imagine that we did degenerate from the vertue of our ancestors, or willingly reiected their precepts. Fame is the ground of perpetuall commendation: therefore let each man eschewe vice with the danger of disestimation: for the losse of Fame and fidelitie, are greater disaduentures then can be imagined. It was provided by lawe, that no wan of corrupt fame should be chosen a Senator of *Rome*. And he was holden of corrupt fame, that had beene condemned for a diser, a deceiuer of others, a theefe, an vniust man, a false performer of testaments, a lyar, an hereticke, a banished man, or knowne guiltie of any other enormitie whereby good fame was bleamished. In *Athens* there was an order, that the life of euery Senator before his creation should be examined. Also *Solon* provided by lawe, that no man misliked of honest men, or noted of dishonestie, should be admitted a Senator. Which kinde of men we also disallowe, iudging them not onely vnfit for the place of Counsellors, but also vnworthie the name of men. Therefore the whole life of our Counsellor must be referred to vertue and honestie: for of them all true glorie, fame, praise renowne and dignitie groweth.

The losse of
Fame of all
others grea-
test.

Friendes.

Moreouer the vse of friends and neighbours, doth greatly beautifie the honour of Counsellors: sith they doe not onely make mans life happie, but also comfortable. For it is a singuler pleasure to communicate our affaires with friends, vsing their fidelitie, and both in priuate, & publique buisines, to be helped with their aide and assistance. *Alexander* being asked where he would haue his treasure preserued: answered, amog his friends, because he thought, good will to be the owner both of his,
and

and other mens riches. Also to such a Counsellor as is desirous of posteritie, a number of good and honest children are an enlargement of felicitie. For men haue not receiued from God any benefite so great, as is ofspring and discent of children, whereby we enioy immortall and eternall increase of life. *Bercidas* a chieftaine or gouernour in *Sparta*, sitting at meate, did forbid that the yonger sort should doe him reuerence: reprocuing himselfe of barrennesse, because he had not begotten any children to doethem the like honour when they were olde. In *Rome* the custome was, that they who had furnished the commonweale with children should be after exempted from the payment of taxes, and in token thereof, those men were called *Proletarij*. But let vs now speake of riches, the possession wherof is for a Counsellor of singuler necessitie: for money is not onely needed in priuate, but also in publique affaires, and without it he cannot performe any notable or vertuous action. Maiestie without force is slenderly assured, and wisdom without authoritie, must yeeld to folly. The opinion of *Plato* is, that the gouernours of Cities, should be neither ouer rich, nor ouer poore: for the one doth make them cowardly, slouthfull, subiect to pleasures, and desirous of nouelties: the other maketh them silly, weake, and rusticall. Therefore the wealth fit for a Counsellor, should be sufficient for his degree, and gotten without reproch. *Aristotle* produceth two meanes of gaining riches: wherof the one is according to nature, and honestie, the other against nature, and dishonest. The naturall meanes of getting, is by agriculture hunting, fishing, fowling, and such like, which containe not in them any deceitfull permutacion. Agriculture (as *Cicero* affirmeth) is of all other things the best, the most profitable, most pleasing, and most worthie a free man. *Cato* being asked by what meanes a man might soone become rich, answered, by feeding of cattell: and being asked the second time, said: by well and fat feeding. Whereby he seemed to thinke, that riches gotten by tillage, and nourishing beastes, was of all other the most honest. When the *Romaines* would commend any man, they vsed to call him a good man, and a good husband, in so much as the Senators themselues liued in the countrey, and at occasions, were by pursuiuants called to the Citie. *Lutius Quintus Vincinatus* & diuerse other notable men were called from the countrey, to be made *Dictators*. But it is to be thought, that their

Children

Riches

dwelling the villages was rather for solace, and recreation, then for any necessitie wherein they liued. Gaines against nature, are all kind of craites for lucre, merchandise, and vsurie: because men doe thereby seeke dishonest profit, and be therein onely occupied. *Cato* being asked what he thought of vsurie, answered. What is it to kill a man? A Senator therefore must in no wise meddle with any dishonest gaine, he must also auoide all base and fowle traueling getting his riches: for by such exercises the honour of a Counsellor is defiled. It was therefore provided in *Rome*, that no Senator should be owner of any ship containing 300. Amphore, because immoderate gaines was not in the noble men allowed. Also it must needs be, that those that binde themselues prentice to bace and foule gaines, will not thinke vpon honest matters and be carefull of the commonweale: therefore such Senators were deposed from the *Romaine* Senate. All honest riches do seeme to consist in money, lande, houses, household stuffe, sheepe, slaues, and such like things which are imployed in honest and liberall labours. There was a custome in many commonweales (and chieflie populer states) to create the Senators according to their wealth, and for that purpose a valewation was made of each mans substance. *Solon* deuided his valewation or cements into foure. The first was of 500. *Melampus*, the second of 300: the third of 200, and in the fourth were the poore men artificers, and mercinarie people. Those that were rated at the second valewation, were called *Equites*. They that were rated in the third valewation, were termed *Zeugitæ*, as men that deserued one horse, and in the first valewation, all Senators, Magistrates, and great noble men were included. Among the *Lacedemonians*, no man was admitted a magistrate, that had not of wealth sufficient to contribute to the publique feast called *Phidicia*. *Plato* likewise deuided his commonweale into foure valewations, so as the whole number of Citizens were included in the first, second, third, and fourth valewation. In like manner the *Romaine* state had a certaine diuerse valewation, for in the one the Senators and in the other the Citizens were valewed. It seemeth therefore necessarie in all commonweales, (for thereby order of state is obserued) that customes and taxations be continued, the families numbred, the peoples manners reformed, all excesse extyrped, and men made diligent in defending their countrey. The Censors or valewers of *Rome*, were the tutors
for

Valewation of
wealth.

Valewation
necessarie.

for good manners, and conseruers of ciuill and honest discipline, as were the *Nomophilaces* among the *Gracians*. Notwithstanding, it seemeth not good to me (be it spoken without offence) the Counsellors should be chosen onely in respect of their riches. For to giue the gouernment into the handes of the most wealthie sort, doth seeme as though the charge of a ship, were deliuered, not to the best saylor, but the richest passenger: whereof perils and shipwracke will ensue. *Plinius* finding fault with the *Romaine* magistrates, their errors and euill manners, doth attribute the cause of all their iniquitie, to the respect they bare towards the wealth of men: saying thus: after Senators were created for their riches, Iudges promoted for substance, magistrates aduanced for money: and chieftaines elected because they were rich, the price of mans life was troden vnder foote. True it is, that riches without vertue is little worth, but being ioyned to vertue, doth increase a happie life. Therefore Counsellors ought be both rich and vertuous: and if any rich and good man being of sufficiencie to gouerne in the commonweale do refuse the dignitie of a Counsellor, he ought by the law of Senſures to be therunto cōpelled, for it is a shamefull thing not to serue that state which begot him, & that cōtreie which gaue him life, honour substance, & education. But here heed must be taken, that witleſſe rich men, fit for nothing, should not in any sort be made magistrates: for honour giuen to such persons, doth transforme them frō fooles to mad men. It is very reasonable that rich men of good desert should haue some preferment in the state, because they haue most substance, chiefly, if they be iust, prudent and learned. Otherwise, to aduance men for riches only is against iustice: for they are apt to iniurie the poore, and proane to sedition and innouation. We are now to declare what rewards are due to Counsellors, what fruit belongeth to their labour, and what recompence the commonweale ought giue to their excellent wisdom and worthines. For we are all allured and drawen by hope of reward to exercise the actions of vertue. The opinion of *Solon* was, that commonweales were preserued by two things: that is to say, by reward and punishment: which not being bestowed according to the vertue and vices of men, the state might be accounted vnhappy and miserable. It is therefore fit that Counsellors should receiue rewards, not only of vertue, but also of honour, & authority. The reward bestowed by cōmonweales (as *Cicero* thinketh) do consist, either

Riches without
out vertue not
worthy honor

Reward due
to Counsel-
lors,

Rewards of
vertue diuerſe

in fauours, in profit, or in honour. These are therefore to be looked for, eyther at the hande of the commonweale, or of God. But the most noble reward is glory, for vertue desireth none other recompence of her labour, but the glory and praise thereunto due. All honest trauell of Senators ought he rewarded with honour glory, and renowne. There is no pleasure among men (as *Xenophon* saith) which approacheth so neare the nature of God, as to enioy honour and glorie. The graces which God hath bestowed on men are so great, as neyther in word or thought can be expressed; Yet doe we giue vnto him, honour, praise, and glory, as that which is thought greatest, and most notable. As therefore in all other things, so therein let the Counsellor imitate God, esteeming that reward for his vertue, dignitie, and labour, to be greatest, which consisteth in commendation, glorie, and exaltation of his name. And euerie good man setteth his chiefe glorie in vertue; As the soldier in fight, and the captaine in victorie. So the whole glorie and honour of a Counselor is discerned by preserving the people, wel gouerning the state, and doing things worthy commendation. He must also account the office of a Senator to be the greatest reward of his vertue: For as dignitie in a person vnworthie is indignitie, so the same in a man worthie is a signe of greatest honour and glorie. For indeed to greate men greate honours are due. Our Senator therefore shal repute himselfe to be best honoured and rewarded for his vertue: When he is applauded of the people, of all men highly esteemed and by publique consent pronounced to be a father, preseruour, and defendour of his countrie. The badges due to such honour are not vaine or mortall, but immortall and eternall: for they remaine for euer impressed in the Peoples mind, extant in the memory of posteritie, and in mouthes and the eares of the whole commonweale. Of that praise and honour, our children, our neighbours, and friends doe participate: supposing it their due to imitate such actions, to be equall vnto such ancestors, and (if it be possible) surpasse them in glory: so as, all good men by this desire of praise and glorie, doe deserue well of their commonweale, and countrey. The houses of Senators must be as it were nurseries of vertue, where the commonweale may (as a field replenished with vertue,) reape good fruit. The Senators ought therefore to be highly honoured and reuerenced of other subiectes, not onely in respect of their age

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noured.

age (which is due to all aged men) but for their authoritie, dignitie, wisdom, fidelitie and diligence in gouerning the commonweale. Who so therefore shall dishonestly or irreuerently abuse them, is with great seueritie to be punished. In Rome, the respect and reuerence to magistrates was so great, that to offer them iniurie, was accounted a crime capitall. For by lawe, it was enacted, that his head that did iniurie to a Tribune, an Edile, a Iudge, or a Decemuirat should be sacrificed to *Iupiter*, his familie to *Ceres*, and his children sold. *Seruilus Isauricus* after he had beene Consull chanced to walke in the streat, & in a straight place was mett by a horseman, who did not alight to doe him reuerence: for which act the said horseman was bound to appeare before the Iudges, who with great indignation did condemne him. Because they thought, that he who did not honour vnto authoritie and the magistrates, was readie to aduenture euery mischiefe. By the law (called *Lex honoris*) it was prouided that no man should doe iniurie to any Senator, for he that so did, should be reputed a traitor, & offender: not onely against the gouernours, but also the Senators, being reputed as members of the lawe. Therefore it was not lawfull to offer them any indignitie, by deed, word, or writing. The ornaments or rewards of honour due vnto the Senators of Rome, were (as *Cicero* writeth) the place, authoritie, domesticall splendor, fame, and fauour in forraine countries, robes of honour, sadels of state, armes, bondels of rods, commandements in the armies, in warre, and prouinces. I omit to speake of images made of stone and brasse, chariots, and diuerse other things to long to be recited: which are at large described in a booke intituled *de senatu Romano* lately written by *Ioannes Samoscius*; a man not onely skilfull in the Romaine antiquities, but also in euery other more commendable learning. Counsellors are therefore to be honoured in the commonweale, not onely by hauing precedence of place, going and sitting, but with all other markes and badges of praise and reuerence. So oft as *Augustus Caesar* came into the Senate, he vsed to salute euery Senator by name: also going from thence he left them sitting in their place, and so without more ceremony said farewell. *Adrianus* the Emperour, seeing a man of his (whom he greatly fauoured) to walk cheek by cheek in the midst of two Senators; commaunded an other of his seruantes to strike him on the face, because he vsed not the reuerence due vnto Senators. In *Athens* a crowne was the rewarde due

Iniurie of
counsellors to
be punished.

Ornaments
and rewards
of the Sena-
tors of Rome.

How much the
Emperours
esteemed
their Senators

Adrianus

to

to Senators for good seruice : which the citizens gaue in signe of publique honour, adding thereunto a somme of money. Neuerthelesse, we allow not the possession of gold or publique goods to be accounted the chiefe rewards of counsellors (although to such as haue neede they are due) but (as is before said) the tokens and badges of publique honour, are glorie, and good fame. For profit is thought the least reward belonging to a Counsellor, sith that euerie magnanimous, iust, prudent, and noble Senator doth farre before it esteeme honour and glorie. Therefore they doe not well, that perswade men to action of state, onely with hope to be rewarded in profite, which is common in populer states, where both the poore and rich are equally chosen magistrates, and are sustained by publicke contribution. That is also the vse in those states where men are poore, and cannot furnish the offices with their priuate wealth. In which commonweales heede must be taken least the magistrates be not more carefull to gaine wealth then gouerne well and iustly. In other states Counsellors be rewarded with imunitiuies, priuiledges, and prerogatiues. Therefore the custome of euery commonweale must be obserued : and euerie Counsellor endeuour him (if so he be able) to serue the state at his owne priuat charges, which is the part of a noble, iust, and greate minded man. For assuredly high commendation is due to them, that dedicate their whole riches, labour, perill, and life, to serue the commonweale : desiring nothing more, then by their Counsell and cost to make the state quiet, happie, blessed, voide of tumult, hate, and seruitude. And if it so be, that the Senator doth receiue lesse monuments of glorie and fame, then are due to his vertue, and worthines : yet shall he assure himselfe to haue at Gods hand, the reward of eternall felicitie, glorie, and perpetuitie. So shall he not onely on earth among men, but also in heauen (with God almightie) liue happie, honourable and glorious. Then which glory, what can be named, thought, or imagined more glorious: For he may iustly vse the speach of *Scipio Affricanus*.

A Counsellor
is to looke for
reward of
God.

*Si fas cedendo, caelestia scandere cuique est.
Mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.*

All vertue of minde ought to returne from whence it is come,
and sith it is proceeded from God, to him it must be restored.
Wherefore

Wherefore we ought first endeavour our selues to become like vnto God, and furnish the diuine part of our minds with those vertues, whereby we may ascend vnto his maicestie. And as in this world, those that excell others in vertue, do merit most praise and glory: So in the heavenly world, whosoever is there most worthy and perfect, doth receiue the greatest rewards of his vertue, integritie, and worthines. Whereof may be inferred, that both in this, and the cœlestiall world also, nothing hath beene made better, more excellent, or more diuine, then a vertuous and iust Senator. Thus much I haue thought good to say touching the office, vertue, and dignitie of a Counsellor, exhorting all Counsellors and Senators to imploy their whole studie, to make their commonweale, happy and peaceable. Whereunto, (as I hope) this our institution shall giue furtherance: hauing therein discribed a true and perfect *Idea* of such a minister as is fit to mannage the affaires of a commonweale well gouerned. Who obseruing the rules aforesaid, shall by experience finde, that for the happines of subiects, and iust gouerning good commonweales, there is not any thing more true or more profitable.

F I N I S.